

Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

August 30, 1999



WORLD: Terror in Turkey

EATON'S: End of the Road

SPORTS: Hockey's Future

FALL OF A SCRAPPER

How a
Mountie
investigation
toppled
B.C. Premier
Glen Clark



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August 20, 1999, Vol. 111, No. 10

Linear growth: linear growth

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The revelation that he is under police investigation forces the resignation of Premier Glen Clark, the third B.C. premier to leave office under a cloud since 1991. Is Canada's Pacific province governable?

A horrific earthquake near Istanbul trapped about 45,000 people, most of whom were feared dead. Many Turks were angry over the government's chaotic initial response.

Canadians say their hockey system has problems with player development. Can Ken Dryden's Open Ice conference in Toronto provide answers?



The once-revered trailer seeks bankruptcy protection and starts liquidating its inventory after the most tumultuous year in its 130-year history.



Editor

Ecology vs. economy on a blessed isle

The panorama on a clear August morning is breathtaking. Offshore in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a flock of 90 majestic northern gannets is dive-bombing a school of herring, for breakfast. Along the deserted beach sandspits scurry at their Chaplinesque pace, in and out of the surf, is a run up the beach. A blissful day awaits,

e-mail and the tax-cut debate.

But down on the farm, all is not quiet in this summer of '99. The wheels of progress are straining against the weight of the traditional island ways. In the village of Montserrat, angry voices are raised at an evening meeting in protest against plans for building a luxury hotel near the popular Crowbush Cove golf course. At issue is a plan to dump waste water from the sewage system into the pristine waters off Lakeridge Beach, whose towering dunes stand guard over a sandy summer playground.

There are other concerns. The odd fatality officially opened this summer—but for only two days. Rich topped has been scraped from massive tracts the use of Prince wheat fields to plant and harvest blueberry crops. But what truly got Islanders buzzing was a series of large fish kills caused when torrential rains washed pesticides off potato fields into favoured salmon and trout ponds.

Broadcaster Jack MacAndrew, also a columnist for *The Eastern Graphic* weekly, argues that the government must cut back on the potato growing. "The fish that have died," he wrote, "are like the canaries they used to de-

tect gas underground in coal mines."

The clash between the issues of economy and ecology is a classic. At Crowbush on Aug. 7, it was golfers versus environmentalists, at least one third of the holes were unplayable because of a Hitchcockian infestation of swarming mosquitoes—caused by moisture from a light rain and a voluntary ban on the spraying of insecticides.

The debates are brought into sharp relief because of the island's haunting beauty and the demands of Islanders struggling to make ends meet. The honky-tonk atmosphere around Crowbush, the site of Anne of Green Gables, a wax museum and water slides, clearly is one that most Islanders reject. But deciding between progress and protection is no simple matter. As for the visitor, it is possible to have it both ways: chowder and mussels, plus the bonus of a magnificent tableau of green blue herons fishing as the sun goes down on Twissle Bay. Islanders are truly blessed, especially because it is not too late for them to take their destiny in hand.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes

Our man in Timor

After 25 years of bloodshed and poverty, the seemingly intractable struggle over Indonesian disputed territory of East Timor is reaching a climax. An Aug. 30 vote on independence may finally restore the status of the former Portuguese colony. For *Maclean's* readers, the timing dovetails with the arrival in Indonesia of Contributing Editor

Warren Caragata, a former *Maclean's* senior writer who recently moved to Jakarta when his wife was posted there. Last week, Caragata flew into the dusty East Timor capital, Dili, to cover the tensions leading up to the vote.

Going around when he says it is "really just an overgrown village, with farm animals grazing in the streets." Caragata talked with UN officials, Canadian diplomats, political leaders and

human rights workers for his report, which begins on page 50. "It's not what," he says, "Dili should be a pretty and place. It's very poor, there is a lot of malaria and everybody seems to have a story about loved ones killed in fighting. But there is a remarkable sense of unity, and people are enthusiastic about being able to determine their own future."



Caragata on Aug. 30 vote

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Deep roots of spin

Andrew Phillips's column ("The spin doctors look north," Aug. 16) on the use of American political consultants in Canada and abroad is a welcome addition to a story with surprisingly deep roots. Since 1933, when the first political consultants set up shop in California, Americans have pioneered techniques of political marketing. It was the Macdonald-King Liberals in the 1940s who first brought American polling and political marketing to Canada. Hayley Cernik, a Princeton University psychologist and pollster, advised federal officials. More important, the American-managed Gallup organization conducted secret polling to assist Ontario wartime propaganda efforts and the Liberal party prior to the 1945 election.

Daniel Robinson, Toronto

These announcements clearly followed the initiation of a completely new focus in Canada for management of our oceans under the 1997 Ocean Act.

Mark Chisholm, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Ottawa

Black anachronism

The picture of Conrad Black ("The man who would be king," Opening Notes, Aug. 16) struck me as pure blackface. Unless he or she is a "safe-forged" career, a person looks dressed for Hollywood in the kind of costume **Mark Bow, Weissburg, Ont.**

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and the government of Canada have apparently forgotten that we have a parliamentary system of government. The Queen is our head of state and as such has the right to make appointments as she sees fit. In expediting her authority, Chrétien takes us one step closer to a republic.

Heide Graham, Toronto

I think I may have a solution for Conrad Black's problem with the Prime Minister. If Black were to renounce his Canadian citizenship, the PM would have no say about his desire

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Managing pain

Having worked in the fields of analgesic and palliative care as a pharmacist for more years than I care to admit, I am intrigued at the negative spin of your cover story "Coping with pain" (Aug. 16). You don't seem that, contrary to



popular belief, we are actually able to control pain in the vast majority of patients. Certain types of pain, neuro-pathic pain being a classic example, are quite manageable if diagnosed early and treated aggressively. It is a great pity that this article serves only to reinforce the public fear without acknowledging the great advances we have made in managing pain.

Kim Sturges, Toronto-Sunnyvale
Regional Cancer Centre, Toronto

I thoroughly enjoyed your cover story. My pain was eased by nerve damage and was acute and constant for about three years. During that time, I saw many different specialists and had a number of different medical tests. None of this helped in any way—the doctor would just say "irremediable" way. Then, I heard about glucocorticoid sulfate (as mentioned on the cover package) and started taking 900 mg

three times a day. After two months, the pain began to ease and within six months I had resumed my normal life. I still have some pain, but as Paul Kelly states, "Pain is pain but to find a way to feel some control over their lives." What a wonderful feeling that is.

Shelia Hutton, Fredericton

I can't believe that you chose to build your case for pain management around the use of drugs. Drugs should be the last resort when everything else has failed. What about acupuncture, acupressure, reflexology, energy balancing, craniosacral therapy? There is a raft of complementary therapies available nowadays that have no unpleasant side-effects, yet are powerfully effective. To make it sound as if the only hope for pain control lies in the use of drugs is entirely misleading.

Markus Rognstad, Wex, Ottawa

I was happy to see the article "Every breath you take" as an alternative method of coping with pain. As a yoga instructor, I use a variety of yoga breathing techniques as well as meditation in a program designed to help people reduce pain and stress levels. These tools can not only help people deal with pain, but can improve overall breathing habits as well as mental and emotional conditions.

Heather Marlow, Toronto

Ocean parks

I refer to your July 26 article "Wise world" (Canada), which sends some clarification and correction. Your readers may not be aware of the series of public announcements Fisheries and Oceans made in 1998 that set out a course of action to establish five new marine protected areas in Canada.

to be elevated to a British portage. Then, of course, we might also expect that our immigration department could protect us from the foreigner who wants to control us.

Don Mayne, Vancouver

What's wrong

Congratulations on acknowledging a sector of our economy that is hurting ("What's right—and wrong—with Canada," Special Report, Aug. 16). I share the frustrations of George Loukan and John Ralston along with many others whose standard of living, dignity and contribution to society are no longer valued in the Canadian labour market.

Robert Smith, Toronto

I am becoming angry and frustrated with Maclean's and your obsession with tax levels in Canada. You use an anecdote (the Hart family) to support your claim that taxes are too high, while mentioning the \$10,000 that the family must spend to send their daughter to university. Excuse me, but with that the point of paying taxes? To help subsidize postsecondary education? Instead of blaming taxes for these problems, what about blaming the cuts to universities, which result in families having to pay more to educate their children?

Karen Gault, Hamilton

In your article you refer to MacLean, D'Amore and Associates Ltd. of Vancouver as a model for Canadian businesses. However, you failed to mention that this company is owned by the American giant Orbital Sciences Corp., and has been for the four-year period during which its revenues tripled. If this as Canadian success story, then perhaps we need to redefine success.

Tony Zagorski, Vancouver

Iraq's tragic embargo

The article titled "The genocide in Iraq" (Ottawa News, Aug. 16) argued me and gave me hope at the state

ture. I am angry about the depth of the tragedy, but happy to see the coverage in Maclean's. As an Iranian who witnessed eight years of endless and devastating war with Iraq, I do not consider my new belly more important than Iraq's kid, much as I love him. Shame on those who think otherwise.

Ramin Sang, Mississauga, Ont.

We have heard so much recently about ethnic cleansing. "We have heard a great deal about 'ethnic cleansing' and its ghastly effects. Obviously, the work of Dr. Allan Carmichael and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War deserves greater publicity. Besides exposing the failure of the weapons against Iraq, such a story might nicely underscore what difference it actually makes to have Canada as weekly newsmagazine. We are unlikely ever to see a cover piece on this issue in the American magazines currently churning out for an open door to the Canadian magazine market.

Donna Gault, Toronto

Provincial empires

It disturbs me that the provinces continue to pursue their empire-building, each vying to take power and money out of the hands of the federal government ("Juggling priorities," Canada, Aug. 23). I feel that for their own narrow, short-term political interests, the provinces are making developing a vicious circle. Governments are called on to reduce costs by cutting programs, with the result that the brains we have trained cannot find employment in their field and leave the country. Meanwhile, research and development is taken as by transnational corporations with no interest in supporting health, education or culture, and thus call on governments to further cut taxes. And round it goes. I would support as the provinces working to assist a stronger national government and a consistent national system of education, health and job creation to keep our brains here.

Patricia Murphy, Toronto, Ont.

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Opening Notes

Edited by Tanya Davies

Afloat on high hopes

The Canadian rowing team was looking forward to having the home-course advantage at this world's World Rowing Championships, being staged near St. Catharines, Ont. The team is coming off a dominant performance at the Pan-American Games in Winnipeg, where it collected 10 medals in 17 events, including four gold. The world championships, however, are a far more difficult race because the field includes the top rowing teams from Europe and Australia. As well, medals will determine berths for next summer's Sydney Olympics. "It will be great motivation for all of us to do well," said longtime star Derek Porter.

For Canadian fans, the world championships offer a chance to preview the team that will carry Canada's hopes at the 2000 Summer Olympics. Rowers, after all, won six of Canada's 22 medals in Atlanta in 1996, and five of 18 in Barcelona in 1992. Some names have changed over the last four years, in part due to the movement of longtime stars such as Kathleen Huddle and Sören Laursen. But three remain a veritable core led by agile sculler Norris McBeck and Porter, and Emma Robinson and Theresa Luke go into the world championships with two recent World Cup pairs wins and a Pan-Am gold to their credit.

There is extra motivation to race well in St. Catharines



McBeck: Porter at the Pan-Am Games (right): McBeck



"What little sponsorship money is available to rowers is usually spent out during the year leading up to an Olympics, so a top finish at the world could help offset next year's training costs." "Money is a problem for most amateur athletes in Canada," said Porter, a chiropractor from Victoria. "So the race here while leading up to Sydney is very important to us."



McKinnon sang in 1979 (above): McKinnon still singing for fun

Double Take

Catherine McKinnon's musical life

It has been 35 years since singer Catherine McKinnon joined Canada with CBC's *Don Messer Jubilee*. But her fans will remember the beautiful Saint John, N.B., native with the sparkling blue eyes and angelic voice. When they came to her restaurant, Catherine McKinnon's Spot O' Tea, in Stanley Bridge, P.E.I., they are hoping for a performance along with their meal—and she doesn't mind a bit. "They want to know, 'Does she still sing?'" says McKinnon, 54, who lives in Stanley Bridge with her husband, entrepreneur Dave Harmon, during the summer and in Toronto in winter. "My staff put me a T-shirt that reads, 'Yes, I still sing. I'm not dead yet.'" As proof, she suddenly launches into a slow, waltz tempo ditty. Sometimes, Harmon drops by and tells jokes. It is an act the two repeat at their theatre

beside the restaurant three nights a week, where McKinnon occasionally does a tribute to Messer. "That show was part of people's lives," she recalls.

An army brat who moved around the country, McKinnon started singing in public at the age of 5. Two years later, she made her radio debut. In 1964, she recorded the folk tune, *Finnish in New Spain*, which became a national hit.

Besides the theatre and restaurant, McKinnon and Harmon, 74, may busy with other gigs. In 1994, they co-authored Canadian troops overseas. In January, they will perform on a cruise ship. "My sister has had cancer and she has taught me a lot about life," says McKinnon, who has a grown daughter with Harmon. "I value every day."

Barbara Rignall

Ranking the rank

When the Sierra Legal Defense Fund released its National Sewage Report Card on sewage treatment systems in 21 Canadian cities, some conclusions came out smoldering warmer than others. Cities that provide at least secondary treatment of their sewage received a passing grade (anything above a D), while those that dump raw sewage were given an F-.

Ranked in order of grade:

Category	A+	Ottawa	C	Charlottetown	E
Edmonton	B+	Quebec City	C	Saint John, N.B.	E
Yellowknife	B+	Toronto	C	Halifax	F+
Fredericton	B	Winnipeg	C	Montreal	F+
Negara	B	Hamilton	C-	Dawson City, Yukon	F-
Whitehorse	B	Vancouver	C	St. John's, Nfld.	F-
Saskatoon	C+	Brandon, Man.	D	Victoria	F-

Passages

Died: Feminist and peace activist Kay Mathers, 86, of lymphatic cancer, in Toronto. In addition to leading the Canadian feminist movement in the 1950s and '60s, she was one of a group of women arrested in Paris in 1964 while peacefully opposing plans for a NATO nuclear force. In 1977, she was elected president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.



Mathers

Died: Former Liberal federal cabinet minister, senator and New Brunswick's first Acadia lieutenant-governor, Hilda Robitaille, 87, in Bathurst, N.B.

Died: Leonard Sumner, 76, who produced the *Wipeout* and *Shower* CBC-TV comedy show, of a brain tumour, in Toronto.

Died: Hall of Fame shortstop Harold (Pee Wee) Reese, 81, of cancer, in Louisville, Ky. As captain of the Brooklyn Dodgers in the late 1940s, he helped ease the way for superstar Jackie Robinson to break baseball's colour barrier.

Died: Architect Sir Hugh Casson, 89, former president of Britain's Royal Academy and member in Prince Charles, in London.

Discovered: Traces of the performance-enhancing steroid Mesterolone in Jamaica sprinter Marlon Devon's urine sample in Lausanne, Switzerland, Aug. 38, who has won 14 world championships, and she was innocent. If a second sample is also positive, Oley faces a possible two-year ban.

Denied: Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson's appeal for international reinstatement from a life suspension that arose from his second positive doping infraction in 1993, by the International Amateur Athletic Federation in Seoul, Spain.

Separated: Ontario Premier Mike Harris, 54, and wife Janet, 50, in North Bay, Ont.

Best-Sellers

Fiction	Nonfiction
1. BLACK HOLE , Patrick Conwell (2)	1. SHAWN (see below) (3)
2. FLORIAN , Timothy O'Leary (2)	2. NAME (see below) (2)
3. REVEREND , Thomas Harris (2)	3. THE FORD (see below) (2)
4. THE OUTCASTS , Christopher (2)	4. THE FORD (see below) (2)
5. THE FORD (see below) (2)	5. THE FORD (see below) (2)
6. THE FORD (see below) (2)	6. THE FORD (see below) (2)
7. THE FORD (see below) (2)	7. THE FORD (see below) (2)
8. THE FORD (see below) (2)	8. THE FORD (see below) (2)
9. THE FORD (see below) (2)	9. THE FORD (see below) (2)
10. THE FORD (see below) (2)	10. THE FORD (see below) (2)

A real Jurassic Park

Alberta's famous Dinosaur Provincial Park is the world's single most beautiful site for the great reptiles, having yielded the bones of more than 250 individual dinosaurs from 36 species. But as David Spaulding shows in *Just the Dinosaur* (Doubleday), the national dinosaur rush has traced across Canada, from the first fossil discovered in Prince Edward Island in 1845 to the islands of the High Arctic. Spaulding tells a colourful tale of eccentric collectors and the long struggle to keep Canadian fossils in Canada.



The stories of courage, loss, and the search for answers



FLIGHT 111

The Tragedy of the Swissair Crash

On September 2, 1998, Swissair Flight 111 plunged into the Atlantic off Peggy's Cove, Nova Scotia, killing all 229 people on board. Now, acclaimed journalist Stephen Kimber tells the moving story of the tragedy and its far-reaching human consequences.



in the aftermath of a crash... a community reaches out.

An original paperback from Seal Books

Opening Notes

Explorer

The Walkman at 20



Walkman (top left) and discman (top right)

Some revolutions begin quietly. Take the Sony Walkman, which was introduced in Japan 20 years ago this summer, and has since changed the way people around the world listen to music. The Sony chairman of the day, Akio Morita, thought the initial production run of 50,000 units too high, and ordered it cut to 30,000. The Japanese media initially ignored the new gadget, which was clad in a cheap silver-and-blue metal casing. And sales were modest—only 3,000 moved in the first month. The Walkman took off a couple months later after Sony publicity staff tried some grassroots marketing—allowing Tokyo subway users and students in high schools and universities to sample the sound quality for a few minutes. Since then, music lovers have purchased over 237 million tape-cassette Walkmans and related products, such as CD and mini-disc players. Many long-time users remain hooked on the musical experience. "It is truly liberating," says John Jones, senior music programmer at Toronto-based MuchMusic. "At the push of a button, you can be somewhere else with your music."

Sony will mark the 20th anniversary with a sleek but pricey—\$309—com-

memorative model. It will be available in mid-September along with posters marking the evolution of the product. One of the biggest changes was the 1992 introduction of the MiniDisc, a six-centimetre square plastic wafer used for recording digitally. Sony's Canadian general manager of advertising and corporate communications, John McCarrie, says MiniDisc players, already popular in Japan and Europe but slow to catch on in North America largely because they cost up to \$500, will eventually replace tape players. But one thing seems certain: the Walkman and its many imitators will likely be around for many years.

The new kids on the block

There's nothing like success to attract criticism. Over the past 20 years, there have been two kno-knockers against the Walkman and its imitators: tape players make a whining sound and the disc players sometimes slip, especially in motion. There's no danger of any such distractions with a new type of portable music device called an MP3 player, at least according to the manufacturers, because the gadgets contain no moving parts. Several companies have developed players to take advantage of MP3 technology, a method of compressing digitally recorded music so it can be stored efficiently on a computer. Consumers can slip a standard audio compact disc into their PC, transfer the music to the hard drive, then download up to two hours' worth of tunes onto the MP3 player's flash memory card. The devices, which sell for \$275 to \$900, are small—about the size of a package of cigarettes—and can weigh as little as 70 g.



Normal MP3 player uses new technology

D'Arcy Jenish



Barbara Amiel

In defence of Conrad Black

I suppose if I had wanted a quiet life I would have married a gentle geographer and married only about the European Union's directives on bananas.

But no, I had to fall in love with Conrad Black and terrific as that is, his name is not synonymous with quiet afternoons snuggling the (occasional this year) pollen.

Well, no complaints. But, the late-life over the past offered to Conrad (and the cable on two grounds. First, there seemed to be a core of Canadian columnists who deliberately or apologetically described the issue as a device to socially climb into shooting parties and country weekends at grand houses.

Speaking for myself, I grew up middle class socially and lower middle class economically in Britain's North London which was, and is, pretty much a Jewish area. As British Jews, we learned, with our wartime powdered milk, to keep heads down. The price was for real attitudes, and while we were good as victims of the likes of Dinesen or Rothschild, the notion of a girl from London NW4 calling herself Lady Something was silly. Psychologically, that's still the way I feel.

Conrad had none of that baggage. Although he wasn't going to chase a title—and it was often intimated that if only he'd give a healthy donation to a political party's campaign or make sure the *Telegraph* editorialists took such and such a line, it was there for the asking—he balked at that route. At one point, he wrote off a letter to a supporter lobbying for a title for him to say he would never accept any honour that required him to compromise the *Telegraph's* independence. Voila, no peerage. Well, not just.

But he did write it. We live in England. He cares about policy issues and has a sensible sense of history. Playing a role in the House when Lords Denning, Dilworth and Canning had spoken thrilled him. British journalists have long known that the only prefigurative debates that have any real substance are fought in the House of Lords. And Conrad had made it clear that he would not take the party whip but at a "cross-bencher"—an independent, in the great tradition of Bernard Russell and Wilfrid Mordaunt.

criticism. Not a small issue.

Also, the fact also revealed the western Canadian journalism. For one, the saddest example was *Maclean's*—not the news reporting—but in the editorial letter. While the cut's away the noise will play, and sometimes larger rodents. Editor-in-chief Robert Lewis went on vacation and managing editor Geoffrey Stevens took over.

The protocol of our business is that an assigned editorial represents the view of the publication. A columnist can say whatever he wants and represents only himself. A signed editorial, as in *Maclean's*, is in between, but one expects a level of responsibility from it that you don't necessarily expect from, say, an Allan Fotheringham who has been a brilliant gossip columnist masquerading as a commentator all his life.

"Isn't it grand?" started off Stevens' Aug. 16 editorial. "Isn't it grand?" he wrote, dismissing the suit against Prime Minister Jean Chretien as motivated by Conrad's love of service to fancy dinner parties and "weekends of fundraising." In trivializing the issue and describing it as Conrad's search for more "social embankments," Stevens failed to see that the issue being contested has to do with the government's perceived attempt, as Conrad, I and many journalists see it, to exercise religious authority in order to influence the press. That question is one of the most central issues that should concern an editor. As well, Stevens' casual writings about the honour of an elevation to the House of Lords rings a bit rich in Canada where television and print journalism as well as intellectual routinely go through orthodoxy-challenging gyrations to reach their honorary doctorates, Canada Council awards and newspaper prizes, and would kill for the Governor General's Award. To suggest that Mr. Stevens might be doing a bit of liberal party spoke polishing is a low, albeit inevitable, thought.

What is so misleading about this editorial approach is that in time goes that when people of some wealth, achievement or power turn to the courts to clarify issues they do it because of pettiness or ego. This forgets a basic lesson. Never read the middle-down effect of economics, just look at the middle-down effect of justice on pure matters of principle. It's the basis of our entire system of liberal democracy. Mega-Carns, from which many of our fundamental rights and freedoms are derived, did not set out to establish human rights to downmoderate with but to clarify the rights and privileges of the most powerful against the arbitrary authority of the king, that is to say the state.

"Isn't it grand? Isn't it fair?" It is in a way—but one which I'm afraid is over Mr. Stevens' head.

FALL OF A SCRAPPER

Glen Clark protested his innocence. But a criminal investigation into a casino deal forced him to resign.

By Jennifer Hunter

In the spring of 1996, Glen Clark was British Columbia's golden boy, a 38-year-old smart-arse politician from Vancouver's scrappy east end who led the New Democratic Party to a stunning victory. He called himself a feisty populist and promoted jobs and megaprojects. But things soon began to unravel: there was the misleading quality of the province's election budget; negative schemes, such as the fuel freeze, went awry; jobs evaporated; key cabinet ministers resigned. Still, Clark, the working-class guy with a head of steel, managed to tough it



Neighbourhood: Platonos, Clark's backyard project (bottom); the RCMP kept the premier under scrutiny for seven months

soon. He called the charges against him "scandalous and unfounded allegations" and said he fully expects to be acquitted. The third B.C. premier since 1991 to be forced from office under a cloud, Clark told a news conference that over since police searched his home he felt he might have to resign. But he maintained his only fault was not recognizing his friendship with Platonos would be viewed as "a despicable" mistake. "The neighbourhood for me has been a bit of a refuge from politics," and Clark, who lives at a modest East Vancouver home. "The challenge is, as premier, can you continue that kind of arrangement?" and I think now that is probably not possible."

Clark's resignation leaves the governing NDP in the fourth year of its mandate without an obvious successor and trailing Gordon Campbell's Liberal party badly in opinion polls. Clark says he intends to stay on as MLA and, jokingly, didn't rule out joining someone else's cabinet if the special prosecutor clears him of wrongdoing. He said it was only 10 days ago that he found out what was behind the March raid of his home. But when B.C. Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh announced on Friday that "the premier is under criminal investigation," British Columbians knew the end was near. The RCMP, it emerged, had kept Clark under scrutiny for seven months, trying to



Photo: J. Hunter

determine whether he used his influence to shepherd Platonos's controversial casino application through the tight government channels.

Dosanjh's stunning announcement followed a decision earlier that day from B.C. Supreme Court Justice Patrick Doherty to allow much of the search warrant material used in the RCMP raid of Clark's home to be made public—everything except information gathered by wiretaps. He also refused Clark's request to quash the search warrant on his house, saying there was enough evidence for police to believe documents relating to the casino licence could be found at his residence. The police were trying to learn whether Clark had received a benefit—the construction of a dock valued at \$16,000—from Platonos—"as consideration for co-operation, assistance, exercise of influence" in obtaining cabinet approval for a licence. Clark told his news conference that he paid in full for the dock and wrote three cheques for it.

But Friday's revelation of the lengthy criminal probe—and the fact that Clark had vastly underestimated his friendship with Platonos—left NDP lips into a sear. "People are shocked by this," said Bill Telford, Clark's former press secretary. "Clark has always said he was not under criminal investigation." Caucus members felt they had been misled by the premier about his relationship with Platonos. He had originally disavowed him as "a neighbour of mine. We see each other occasionally, our children attend the same school and they play together." Later, it came out that not only had

Platonos built the dock on Clark's residence, he had vacationed at the Clark family cabin near Princeton, and had constructed another dock there. Late Feb. 17, police spotted Platonos leaving the North Burnaby Inn, the site of the proposed casino, and driving to Clark's house. That was the same day Platonos learned that the casino licence for which he and his partner, Steve Ng, had received conditional government approval might go up in smoke. Unknown to Platonos, the RCMP was watching his movements and they noted that he arrived at Clark's home at 5:51 p.m., carrying a piece of white paper and left three minutes later. At 8:45 p.m., Clark went to Platonos's home and stayed for more than half an hour. All told, Platonos and Clark met at least 12 times over the five-week period of police surveillance in January and February of this year. At one point, on Feb. 25, Platonos came to Clark's house with a stack of papers and stayed for almost an hour. On Saturday, Clark discussed any summer reading of the rules and said the two neighbouring families, with their children, regularly went back and forth.

The police monitoring of Platonos and his partner Ng started last January after an informant began to circulate allegations that Clark had assisted Platonos in obtaining a conditional

casino licence for the North Burnaby Inn that would have 300 slot machines and 20 gaming tables. The informant was Darrin Vrhon, a Revenue Canada employee who Platonos asked to help fill out the casino application forms. Platonos, Vrhon suggested, was not going to put up any money but would receive a 30-per-cent stake in the casino profits "as a result of his contribution of Clark's support."

The informant also said that Clark had been offered a 15-per-cent stake in the operation but turned it down. "That's not what I do it for," Clark is reported to have said. According to Vrhon, Platonos tried to thank Clark by building decks on his house and cottage at little or no charge. But, Vrhon added, Clark may not have solicited the construction and may have been an unwitting "dope" in Platonos's scheme. Still, in a memo that went to the Liberals, Vrhon wrote that Clark "had personally received" Platonos's casino application and was doing his utmost to manoeuvre it through government channels. Clark disavowed that allegation, suggesting that he had only helped Platonos direct his application to the right people, the way any MLA would help a constituent.

In the conspiracy theory, Clark was allegedly trying to bypass the gaming commission and take the issue directly to the cabinet because the application scored very low points in an assessment and would not likely receive the nod from gaming officials. "The premier was involved with trying to lose the numbers and to try to find a way to get it passed by

out. What finally brought the premier down was a very small project: a dock built in his backyard by a neighbour, Darrin Vrhon, another east-end guy trying to get ahead by seeking a licence for a charity casino from the province "his friend" the premier was. That small dock led to a series of astounding events that spun out of Clark's control: beginning with a police raid on his home on March 2 and concluding with a resounding political crisis that forced his resignation on Saturday.

Still, an unrepentant and cocky Clark went out on Aug. 21 with a typical brown performance on a sunny Victoria after-

The premier said he paid for the deck in three instalments, denying that Pilarinos had done the work for nothing

the cabinet," the informant said in the memo that was part of the search warrant material. (The Pilarinos/Ng group received only 46 points out of 140—the lowest among the 10 casinos approved at the same time.)

Although the police decided that some of Velazco's information was not true, they accepted much of it. The Pilarinos/Ng application was given provisional approval by Clark's cabinet on Dec. 17, 1998, despite its low points and vociferous objections from Burnaby city council. Under provincial gaming policy, local municipalities must approve the location before a casino licence can be issued. Burnaby council rejected the Pilarinos/Ng proposal on Hastings Street in favour of an alternative site on Halfan Street in another part of town. According to police, when Pilarinos and Ng realized their casino would never win the endorsement of the Burnaby council—even after they had the provincial go-ahead—they tried to buy the Halfan Street property. They then asked the minister responsible for gaming, Mike Farnworth, to approve a change of site. On Feb. 17, the same day the police obtained the warrants and goings between the Pilarinos and Clark's residence, Farnworth had sent the group a fax rejecting the change, saying it would amount to too great a divergence from the original application.

RCMP interviews with Steve Letts, director of the gaming audit and investigation office—which checks out casino



Liberal Campbell: accusing the government of trying to cover up deep corruption

applications before they are approved—show he was intensely concerned about the propriety of giving the Pilarinos/Ng application the green light well before the Farnworth letter, indeed well before the cabinet gave its conditional approval. It was unclear to the gaming office who else might be part of the project. "From the beginning, it became apparent that some of the people involved had criminal records and one of the operators was involved in a strip club," said Letts. "In terms of integrity and public perception, the gaming audit and investigation office would have difficulty in approving an application that had such associations." The strip club Letts referred to is owned

by North Burnaby first owner Ng, who also runs a hotel in Vancouver's seedy Downtown Eastside.

The anonymous informant also told police the North Burnaby Inn "is a major gambling and minor drug-dealing operation." Police estimated there was \$100,000 floating in the club every day, including cash in the till and chips on the table. So, while the RCMP was investigating the Pilarinos/Ng licence bid, they were also looking into allegations of illegal gambling at the inn. One officer reported buying drugs from a bartender and Pilarinos was eventually charged with being found in an illegal gaming house.

As the gaming audit office, Letts told the RCMP that he advised Mark McKinnon, executive director of the government's gaming policy secretariat, that the audit group was having "some difficulty" with the Pilarinos/Ng application and his recommendation "would be to hold off on it." Letts was stunned when McKinnon told him in early December, 1998, that the application would be approved by the cabinet in a few days.

Later, after Ng and Pilarinos applied to change the location of their casino, Letts learned that one of the premier's assistants, George Ford, had summoned McKinnon to his office twice. McKinnon gave Letts few details of his meetings with Ford, but did say he was "receiving pressure from politicians why there was no appeal for the move." After the Ford meetings, McKinnon decided "to put ahead the request for a change of location" which led to the Farnworth letter on Feb. 17.

In his allegations, informant Velazco said Clark paid little or nothing for the deck constructed by Pilarinos. In their application to quash the search warrant, Clark's lawyers said the premier paid for the costs of the backyard deck in instalments but "tied the completion of the project, Mr. Clark gave a cheque in the amount of \$5,000 to Mr. Pilarinos to give to Mr. Farnworth. Mr. Farnworth, however, stopped up the cheque and told the premier that he did not owe him that much money. As a result, the premier had a hunting knife made by an Indian chief and gave that knife



Clark with wife Dale and children Reid and Layne walking. Quaker City details in the search warrant fueled a political fury

to Mr. Pilarinos." That is a different account than the premier gave at his gaming news conference. The deck cost the Clark's approximately \$11,000, the premier said; the city assessed the work at over \$16,000.

The details in the search warrant material—which reached almost 100 pages—quickly fueled a political fury. Liberal Leader Campbell claimed the NDP "have been focusing on trying to cover up this seemingly deep corruption that flows through the entire government." And it has made several NDPers wary about the future of the party. "You don't have to be a rocket scientist to see that when the party is 14 per cent in the polls that it's all over," said Tildeman.

Within hours of Clark's resignation, the caucus announced that Energy and Mines Minister Dan Miller, 54, would become interim premier. The party is hoping to hold a leadership convention by mid-November.

Assistant General Douglas and Finance Minister Gordon Wilson are also known to seek the party leader-

Downfall of a premier

Dec., 1997 A numbered company owned by Directors Pilarinos, a neighbour of the premier, and Steve Ng, a hotel owner, applies for a licence to operate a casino in Burnaby.

Dec. 17 A building permit is issued

to Pilarinos for the premier's home.

July 14, 1998 A new deck, valued at \$16,000, is completed.

July 17 A memo from an aide notes the premier is to be kept out of the casino decision.

July 29 The casino can go to the cabinet.

Aug. 26 Burnaby's mayor tells the cabinet the city will reject the application

Sept. 3 An informant gives the Liberal office damaging allegations, which are passed on to the RCMP. Mid-Oct. The gaming audit office begins an investigation.

Dec. 17 Minister Farnworth announces licence approval in principle. The Burnaby mayor again says no. Jan. 18, 1999 Gaming officials receive fax from Vancouver Sun and informant suggesting inproprieties

Jan. 15 The RCMP interviews senior gaming officials; surveillance begins. Jan. 15, 16, 17 and 23 Police surveillance of Clark and Pilarinos meeting. Early Feb. The premier's aide summons a gaming official twice to inquire about application.

Feb. 14 Warnings are authorized. Feb. 17 Minister rejects approval for change of site; Pilarinos and Clark meet three times.

March 2 Thirteen search warrants are authorized, including one for the premier's home. March 16 Police search Clark's office in Victoria.

July 29 Clark's lawyer files an application to quash the search warrant. Aug. 20 The publication ban on the search warrant is lifted; the attorney general reveals that Clark is under criminal investigation.

The NDP will choose a new leader in November with time running out on the party's mandate

ship. Former finance minister Jay MacPhail and popular Agriculture Minister Corky Evans are also considered potential candidates (page 17). But who really wants the leadership of a dispirited and unpopular party that seems destined to suffer crushing defeat in the next election—especially when severations from this office are far from over.

In six weeks, the RCMP are expected to hand in the results of their investigation to a special prosecutor who will determine if charges should be laid against any of the players in the drama. David Gibbons, Clark's lawyer, main-



Clark jitters at home in March during police search 'my neighbourhood'

Clark, with his scrappy personality and workaholic nose pulled off the seemingly impossible by winning re-election in June, 1996. Hardly anyone believes the NDP can pull that rabbit out of the hat again.

With Paul Willbuck in Victoria

tains his client's innocence and says he will appeal the judge's decision regarding the quashing of the search warrant. The province's conflict of interest conventionalism is also pursuing an investigation that could touch on how other cabinet ministers dealt with the casino application.

Clark himself took over the party in February, 1996, after former leader Mike Harcourt resigned, asking the best for another party scandal involving a charity bingo, the so-called Bungalow affair.

Under a Cloud

In February, 1996, Robert Samson resigned as British Columbia's land and forests minister, and two years later became the first cabinet minister on the British Commonwealth to be jailed for corruption in office after he was convicted of accepting bribes. A brief chronology of more recent B.C. provincial scandals:

March, 1987—Premier Bill Vander Zalm fires Forests Minister Jack Keenly over alleged misuse of office expenses.

September, 1989—Tourism Minister Bill Reid resigns after it was learned he tried to divert more than \$250,000 in a company owned by his campaign manager.

March 29, 1991—Vander Zalm steps down in leader because of a conflict of interest in the \$16-million sale of his Fantasy Gardens theme park in Vancouver. He is alleged to have accepted \$20,000

from Taiwanese billionaire Lin Yu. (In September, 1991, he is charged with criminal breach of trust, but is cleared of those charges.)

May, 1992—An investigation begins into the NDP-linked Nauru Commonwealth Holding Society. Nicknamed Bungalow, the issue dogs Premier Mike Harcourt, and later Premier Glen Clark for the next seven years.

April, 1995—Harcourt fires government services commissioner Robin Blencoe over allegations of sexual harassment.

May, 1995—Environment Minister Mac Sithou resigns from the cabinet when the Law Society of British Columbia suspends him for 18 months for allowing clients to interact with his father, a developer mixed in a money-laundering venture.

November, 1995—Harcourt announces he will resign after the so-called Bungalow scandal in which charity funds were improperly diverted to NDP coffers. In February, 1996, Glen Clark becomes premier. **August, 1996**—Former premier Bill Bennett (1975-1986) and his brother Russell are found guilty of



insider trading in the 1988 sale of shares in Dorman Industries, a forest products firm. The B.C. Securities Commission bans the former premier from trading in securities for 10 years.

December, 1996—Sithou resigns from cabinet again, this time as education minister, after revelations that he lobbied for an airport limousine licence on behalf of federal B.C. Liberal Herb Dhaliwal. Sithou subsequently returned to cabinet for a third time.

March, 1999—The RCMP audit Clark's home, searching for evidence that the premier accepted a bribe in return for helping a neighbour, Dennis Phelan, in his efforts to obtain a casino licence.

June, 1999—Former B.C. finance minister and NDP party president Dave Sautch pleads guilty to fraud for diverting Bungalow money to the NDP.

August 21, 1999—Clark resigns as premier.

John Naird

I WOULD RATHER DIE OF THIRST THAN DRINK FROM THE CUP OF MEDIOCRITY.



STELLA
ARTOIS

IMPORTED BEER

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An Open Letter to the Anglers and Hunters of Ontario

ONTARIO FEDERATION

Ontario Conservation Centre
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Toronto, Ontario M6H 1A5



OF ANGLERS & HUNTERS

Phone: (416) 748-6024 Fax: (416) 748-0877
Web Site: www.ofah.org
E-mail address: ofah@ofah.org

Congratulations to Ontario's hunters and anglers for jobs well done.

As Ontario's largest non-governmental, non-profit conservation organization, the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters is in the unique position of being able to see, first hand, the contributions that groups and individuals make to our natural resources.

Ontario, and, for that matter, most of North America, was founded on the efforts of anglers, hunters and trappers. They are the people who forged new tracks into the wilderness, they are the people who helped feed and clothe settlers in this province, and they are the people who facilitated the first trade that sustained us economically.

Today, hunters and anglers continue to contribute generously to society as a whole. Through their fun for leisure and profits, hunters and anglers fund fish and wildlife management programs that restore lakes, plant trees and help conduct valuable wildlife research.

Hunters and anglers volunteer their time and donate their money to a multitude of projects. In recent decades, government has cut back on programs, and services and funding for fish and wildlife were not immune. Hunters and anglers picked up the slack and now they run fish hatcheries and stocking programs, they are planting trees to restore habitat, and they are fighting hard to protect and enhance valuable wildlife.

Hunters and anglers don't just take, they give. Without the return of the elk, the wild turkey, the transmontain, the bear and, and many other species rebuilding their rightful place in Ontario's ecosystem — thanks to hunters for their continuing and much appreciated efforts.

When we see the abundance of wildlife in Ontario, we know that there are people whose dedication, hard work and sacrifice are responsible. Thank you for your contributions. You have helped the fish, wildlife and our society as a whole.

Years in Conservation,

David B. Piper

Ronald E. Piper
OFA-All President



NEVERFISH PLACES
Artificially created from waste, the natural ecosystem...
to do water levels and quality.



Cover

Dubious Achievement Award

Four serious contenders could vie to head a party on the ropes

As Glen Clark balanced on the edge of a political cliff last week, the two leading candidates to replace him reached out to the embattled premier. But instead of a helping hand, they gave him a push. Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh, a bookish, self-apointed Vancouver lawyer, called the surprise press conference the devastating news that Clark was under criminal investigation. Finance Minister Gordon Wilson, ready to try to lead his third political party in six years, jumped in quickly, telling reporters that perhaps it was time for Clark to go. The wildly different Dosanjh and Wilson, along with former finance minister Jay MacPhail—who quit the cabinet last month—and Agriculture Minister Garry Ewen, are the associated front-runners in a leadership convention that is expected to be held in November. Wild-card candidates would include federal New Democrat Senator Robinson

ability to handle pressure. His persistence in speaking out against military strikes in Vancouver's parliament last Feb. 1988, who left Dosanjh with 80 minutes, hand wounds and a fractured hand. He wasn't alone. "It was the kind of moment where you know if you don't speak today, you probably never will again because you'll be assumed the rest of your life," he said about the incident. Since he was elected in 1991, Dosanjh, 51, has always acted more like the careful solicitor than a politician. That has made him few enemies, but it's not necessarily a plus when a party is fighting for its life.

A question mark hangs over the candidacy of MacPhail, a fierce competitor with a sense of humor. The former attorney has the alien credibility the other two lack—the worked for powerful B.C. public service unions after studying at the



Dosanjh (left), MacPhail, Wilson: some New Democrats see Wilson as their best hope to avoid a crushing defeat by the Liberals, even though he has only been in the party for seven months

Wilson's emergence as a leadership contender after only seven months as a New Democrat is the latest twist in a bizarre political career. The former community college teacher came out of nowhere in 1991 to lead the B.C. Liberals from fringe party to official Opposition status. But after barely a year at the helm, his party collapsed when the then-44-year-old Wilson started a relationship with a young MLA—Jodi Tjebbs, then 28—and made her house leader. Both were married at the time. The caucus fired a leadership race that ousted Wilson. He started his own fringe party and his political career was effectively dead until January, when the NDP needed an injection of popularity and Wilson walked straight into the Clark cabinet.

Pragmatic New Democrats see Wilson, now 50, as the best hope for saving off a crushing loss to the Liberals. He has remained personally popular and since jumping to the NDP has held key cabinet posts including Aboriginal Affairs and, as of last month, finance minister. But Gary Frank-Gilles, the Liberal house leader who served under Wilson, says his former boss got into his difficulty working with others will create problems for the NDP. But the bigger obstacle may be the union-bred New Democrats, who value seniority and loyalty above all else.

Dosanjh, the other almost certain candidate, has managed to avoid being embroiled in the Clark controversy—at least until last week. But the lawyer, who grew up in a small village in the Punjab and came to Canada in 1968, has proven his

London School of Economics and was the executive assistant to union boss and NDP power broker Ken George in the early 1990s. She's known for her famously partisan presence in the legislature and for being comfortable in the party's rougher places; even on a trade colleague's desk during a debate and get away with it, but she did MacPhail's credibility suffered during a disastrous tenure as finance minister. Her porpoised \$95-million deficit ballooned to \$550 million, and this year she introduced a budget calling for an \$890-million shortfall. So far, MacPhail, a single mother, has been telling people she's not interested in the leader's job, citing commitment to her adolescent son, Jack, whose custody she shares in his turbulent times. Ewen, a former lawyer, would be a fringe candidate. But his passionate plea for traditional social democratic values may appeal to delegates after the rocky end to the Clark years. That's if anyone is listening.

Paul Willcocks in Victoria

A Poisonous Atmosphere

The press and politicians are locked in a bitter embrace

By David Mitchell

Consider the life cycle of a typical B.C. premier: Stage 1: election victory/personal triumph. Stage 2: political honeymoon. Stage 3: political scandals. Stage 4: more political scandals. Stage 5: calls for resignation. Stage 6: personal humiliation and resignation. Then, it begins again, with the next unfortunate politician struggling through the same predictable cycle.

It wasn't always this way. In fact, there once was a time when the relative stability of B.C. politics behind its reputation for volatility. Think back, for instance, to the time of W.A.C. Bennett, who served as premier for two booming decades (1952-1972). Although Bennett had his fair share of controversy and lost more than one cabinet minister to ineptness—and one to a corruption charge—scandal never touched him personally. In recent years, however, Canada's most westerly province has actually lived up to the rhetorical excesses of its bewildering political class.

Consider: The last time a B.C. premier actually served a full term in office was 1979-1983, under Bill Bennett (W.A.C.'s son). With the resignation and replacement of Glen Clark, the province has now had five premiers in fewer than nine years—with only two elections. And while this may not surpass the turnover rate in Boris Yeltsin's Russia, it is unprecedented in 20th-century Canada. Why are British Columbians so hard on their leaders? Sure, we're living in a cynical age when it's all too fashionable to revile politics and politicians. But residents of Canada's Pacific province seem unusually eager to dismiss their leaders, even when the accuracy of doing this is embarrassingly fresh.

Many observers subscribe to the notion that British Columbia's political reinforcements are the product of the culture of the folk who are attracted to public office. After all, it is difficult to ignore the fact that politicians who are continually embroiled in controversy, conflict or criminal investigations are their own worst enemies. But there is another, largely unexplored explanation. Most British Columbians,

including politicians, receive their news and information about public life through the media. And the B.C. news media, particularly those journalists who cover the provincial political beat, are among the most aggressive and bloodthirsty in the country.

In the post-Watergate world, political journalists are on constant alert for scandal. But in British Columbia, this tendency has been taken to extremes, with journalists asserting the role of grand inquisitors or attack dogs, often seeming to enter the partisan fray themselves. During former premier

Mike Harcourt's tenure, a radio reporter took a complaint directly to the provincial's chief of interest commissioners rather than reporting on someone else's interview. In the Glen Clark case, lawyers representing the news media were fighting it out in court almost daily with lawyers for the premier over police information. The news media have now decisively emerged as the self-appointed but unofficial opposition in British Columbia—regardless of which political party is in power.

This has had a dramatic impact on political discourse in the province.

Elected representatives cannot compete against the pervasive influence of media that drip with sarcasm and snarl at every announcement. More than elsewhere, B.C. politicians are subjected to ubiquitous media scrutiny; often, they seem like caged or cornered animals, with reporters shouting questions in rapid-fire. There is little, if any, mutual respect in the relationship and little appearing about anything other than personality or conflict.

For months prior to Glen Clark's resignation, the province's major media outlets had his political obituary ready. Political reporting degenerated further into a protracted death watch, a monthly daily update on the prophetic demise of a premier. A gripping, if brutal, story to be sure; but is this actually journalism? Or could it be more accurately described as well-choreographed character assassination?

It matters not whether the name is Clark, Harcourt or Vander Zanden. If the news media in British Columbia believe their mission is to declare politicians folk heroes one day, only to tear them down the next, then the system that is ingrained in West Coast democracy may become tenuous due to the fold-out of any single, temporary leader. Politicians can eventually be driven from office. The media, however, know no master. ■



Former premier Harcourt under siege



Herding the Prairie voter

By Brian Bergman

Tropics are several on much of the Prairies last week, sending grateful residents out to shivers and back up to snuff what remained of Canada's most biting season. The political horse race was also rising, as the nation's two biggest-serving current premiers, Manitoba's Gary Filmon and Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow, close the last final days of summer to put their respective electoral lives on the line. Both men had postponed election calls all the way in the face of labour strife and public discontent—and each now has reason to believe that the political winds are blowing over in his favour. But there are still plenty of storm clouds on the horizon.

When Gary Filmon stepped into the political limelight in the mid-1980s as leader of the province's Progressive Conservative party, the public image was underwhelming. Filmon struck many observers as stiff, taciturn—and found himself divided in the years since as "a five-star nerd." But there was more of that public awkwardness on display last week when Filmon set Sept. 21 as the provincial election date. While no one would ever accuse the Manitoba premier of making an charisma, he now handles the chores of campaigning—wielding a coffee klatch at a women's midlife or posing for the obligatory photo—up with casual aplomb. "I'm certainly more relaxed than I have been in other campaigns," Filmon told *Midland* during a break in the glad-handing. "Campaigning is fun. If you don't enjoy it then this is the wrong business to be in."

Just how much longer Filmon remains in the business of politics is now up to Manitoba voters. The most recent public opinion polls suggest that the premier—who is seeking a re-election term—is in a neck-and-neck battle with his longtime adversary, NDP Leader



Filmon seeking a new fourth term: 'seeking a corner of being underestimated'

Gary Doer, with the province's embattled Liberal party trailing in third place. "Filmon has been in power for 11 years," observes William Neville, head of the political studies department at the University of Manitoba. "There is some sentiment out there that it is time for a change."

When Filmon backed away from a spring election in April, he cited his concern over outstanding contract disputes with the Manitoba Nurses Union and other provincial health-care workers (the contract has since been settled). But most analysts agree that Filmon's more immediate priority was to put some distance between himself and the vote-rigging scandal that led to

an inquiry under retired Manitoba chief justice Alfred Morton. In his findings on March 29, Morton confirmed that several senior Conservatives, including the premier's own chief of staff, had conspired to steal and fund independent activist candidates in the 1995 provincial election in an attempt to bleed off votes from the NDP. The same Tories later engaged in a cover-up of their actions. But Morton accepted Filmon's assertion that he had no prior knowledge of the plot or the cover-up.

Delaying the election proved advantageous in another way. The 1995 Pro-American Games, held in Winnipeg from July 2 to Aug. 8, was an uplifting, even euphoric experience for many

Manitobans—and Filmon was front and centre during much of that time. A Conservative party TV ad which began string across Manitoba last week makes a more-subtle stab at capitalizing on the good will. It shows a casually dressed Filmon sitting in a restaurant, Winnipeg Stadium, where much of the Pro-Am games took place. "The stands are empty, but the spirit remains," says the premier, who goes on to suggest that his party is in the best position to build on the positive legacy of the Games.

Doer cautions that Filmon has enjoyed "a bump" from the Pro-Am Games, but insists that in any case, as the campaign progresses, he says, voters will focus on the NDP agenda, with its promises to restore health-care funding and cut property taxes while maintaining the Tory record of balancing the budget. It is crucial, he adds, for the NDP to appeal to traditional supporters of the Liberal party, which has changed leaders twice since the last election and now holds only two seats in the Manitoba legislature, compared with 31 for the Tories and 23 for the NDP. Says Doer: "Liberals like what we have to say on education and health care, but want to know we'll be fiscally responsible."

Neville believes the NDP has a real shot at power, but he cautions that Filmon—who is making tax cuts a key campaign theme—has made a career of being underestimated. "Filmon is a great deal tougher than people give him credit for," says the political scientist, "and much more ruthless than his public persona would suggest."

In a political career spanning more than 30 years, Roy Romanow has never been known as a risk-taker. So Saskatchewan's NDP premier was naturally appalled when the province's 8,400-member union council called on an ill-fated strike just days before he intended to call an election this spring. The premier immediately ordered the union back to work—a decision they defied, with considerable public support, for 11 days. With no quick settlement in sight, Romanow opted to wait. While June elections had been particularly loud in

the NDP over the years, he did not want a repeat of 1982, when anti-labour problems helped sweep Allan Blakeney's NDP government from power. In that election, Romanow, who had been Blakeney's attorney general for nearly a decade, lost his own Saskatoon seat to a 25-year-old red alert agent.

A fall election also gave Romanow time to deal with another political headache. During the summer, he has been increasingly strident in demanding that Ottawa provide more support for Saskatchewan farmers, now facing their most dire income crisis since the

A cloudburst of September elections for Manitoba and Saskatchewan

Romanow the farmer's friend who won to beat down on Ottawa



Depression. As he announced a Sept. 16 election date, Romanow portrayed himself as the logical champion of the farmer's cause. "I'm going to be armed with a mandate to go to Ottawa to make the case for our farm families," he told cheering supporters in Saskatoon.

Romanow, who is seeking a third term as premier, enters the campaign with many obvious advantages. The NDP currently holds 41 seats in the Saskatchewan legislature, compared with 10 for the Saskatchewan Party and five for the Liberals. Neither opposition leader has ever been elected to provincial office. The Saskatchewan Party, considered the main competition to the NDP, was cobbled together two years ago after the unexpected demise of the once-powerful provincial Tories. The latest closed shop in the wake of criminal corruption charges against more than 15 MLAs and party workers who served under former premier Grant Devine. Although the Saskatchewan

Party also includes some former Liberal MLAs and federal Reform supporters, Romanow insists on referring to it as the "Sask-A-Tory" party—a pointed attempt to draw lines to a natural past.

For all of that, some political observers believe that Saskatchewan Party Leader Elwyn Horwood, a farmer and ex-Reform MP, could turn the election into a horse race. University of Saskatchewan political scientist John Courtney says three key issues dog the government: Public access over health care and high provincial taxes are two of them. But most important, says

Photo: John Courtney

Children at sea in a new land

The second boatload of Chinese migrants receives a harsher welcome

By John Geddes

Teenage girls with pigtails and slither boys with downcast eyes as hard to wily. Even an handicraft, the dry-lodging adolescents have a poignant air to the sign of the Chinese migrants who arrived in British Columbia on two

surfaced in which senior officials overlooked at ground their own notes supporting refugee status. "I'm embarrassed by the error," said Jim Redmond, a manager with Immigration Canada. But the first-up, he said, was not accidental. In an interview with Montreal, Nathan Morand, chairwoman of the fed-

erated. Most were given baggy green coveralls, but those regarded as dishevelled were required to wear vivid red so officials could quickly identify them. All were handcuffed while they were taken to Victoria for hearings.

Anyone who indicates a fear of persecution at home has a right to be assessed by the IRB, a process that takes an average of 11 months. Grounds for claiming refugee status range from political and religious repression to the persecution of women and gays. Lawyer David Anka said his clients are "afraid that if they return to China they will be severely punished, physically beaten or incarcerated." As well, some owe money to the gangs of smugglers who brought them to Golden Mountain—the Chinese term for the United States and Canada—reportedly as much as \$40,000.

As for the teens and children, none appear to have been told little more by their families than to get to North America and find work. By last last week, British Columbia's ministry of children and families had taken 17 from the first boat into care and 39 from the second. Costs could reach \$450,000 a month once all the children and adolescents are placed in group homes. If they are granted refugee status, the province could be responsible for their care until they reach 19. They will be taught English and sent to schools where they will learn the cultural history of a country of immigrants—including some who are well welcomed with handclaps.

With Paul Wells/BC in Victoria



Unaccompanied kids who crossed the Pacific 'inexpediently'

eral government's Immigration and Refugee Board, said five Canadians seem to realize that scrutiny of anyone who claims refugee status has grown much more stringent in recent years. In 1996, 77 per cent of claimants were accepted after hearings. By 1998, that rate had dropped to 44 per cent. "We've made a lot of improvements," said Morand. But, she lamented, "the fairness and objectivity that we have come to expect from Canadians seems to have gone out the window."

This was not a red-carpet welcome. The would-be immigrants were locked up in an old military gymnasium at Canada Forces Base Esplanet near Victoria. RCMP guards kept constant

Water export ban

Ottawa will introduce long-awaited legislation in the fall to ban the bulk export of fresh water, says Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy. The ban will include water from the Great Lakes and, with provincial support, almost all other waterways. Quebec and Newfoundland have not agreed to the plan.

Rejecting HIV treatment

A Montreal mother has won a hearing in Quebec Superior Court to prevent doctors from giving aggressive anti-viral drugs to her HIV-infected son, Sophie-Benoit, 37 and HIV-positive for 13 years, says both she and her two infected sons have been badly while avoiding the "highly toxic" drugs. Child welfare stepped in when the seven-year-old contracted pneumonia that was resisting normal antibiotics.

Hate on the streets

Two elderly Jewish men, one of them a concentration camp survivor, were beaten with a steel pipe outside a Toronto synagogue in what police are treating as a hate crime. No money was taken. Human rights groups fear a surge in copycat attacks following the much-publicized shooting in a Los Angeles Jewish community centre.

Birth of a nation

More than 100 of the Bets or the Yanks, Canadian adults—mostly right-wing million people—are still carrying two much poundage, say Statistics Canada. As a group, men are more overweight than women. As a province, New Brunswick has the most fat people, British Columbia and Quebec the most thin ones.

Blood restrictions

Canadians who have visited Britain for more than six months since 1990 will not be able to donate blood here, the Canadian Blood Services agency has ruled. The ban means that of the United States, Quebec has set a one-month limit on prospective donors who visit the United Kingdom. The restriction is to protect the blood supply from the rare brain disorder linked to mad cow disease, which affected British cattle from 1980 to 1996.

The Airbus investigation continues

The Airbus battle between former prime minister Brian Mulroney and the Liberal government is heating up again. Mulroney accused the Liberals of waging a "political vendetta" against him, and was consulting one of the lawyers who represented him in his 1995 libel suit that ended with Ottawa giving him an apology and \$2 million for legal expenses. The former prime minister was outraged by the disclosure last week that he is still named in a renewed libel lawsuit to Swiss authorities for bank accounts of Swiss businessman Karlheinz Schreiber, who is alleged to have been a central figure in the payment of illegal commissions in the \$1.8-billion sale of aircraft by Europe's Airbus Industrie to Air Canada in 1988. Although the Swiss have agreed to make the documents available to Canadian

investigators, Schreiber—who has been accused in Germany of fraud, tax evasion and paying kickbacks in another transaction—has filed a motion in Switzerland's Federal Court to prevent the disclosure of his bank records. To date, he has also refused Mulroney's request that he voluntarily release the records—a request that the former prime minister made again last week. In 1997, when it settled the libel suit, Ottawa acknowledged that any conclusions of wrongdoing by Mulroney "were—and are—unjustified." But it kept an option open to continue the investigation and did not withdraw a 1995 letter to the Swiss in which Mulroney was named. "The letter contains a lot of libellous material and it is beyond comprehension why [Ottawa] won't withdraw it," said Mulroney spokesman Luc Lamoie.

A nip and tuck for the viceregal lion

In the pantheon of heraldry, lions have been shown with their tongues pointed and claws out in the centre of their regal manes for nearly eight centuries. But that was too much for Rensé LeBlanc. "When I



was growing up, one thing was completely forbidden: sticking your tongue out at someone," the soon-to-retire Governor General said. So he quietly ordered the official crest redrawn. The new version (at right), now being introduced onto official stationery, also removes the brown lines and that hint of paternal prowess.

Chief Justice to step down in new year

Saying he has lost the "holy fire," an emotional Chief Justice Antonio Lamer announced he will leave the Supreme Court of Canada on Jan. 7. The longest-serving member of the court, and in top judge for 10 years, the Quebec-born Lamer, 66, has

been a judge for almost 30 years. Under his direction, the high court made several important rulings to protect the accused and handed down a historic ruling on Quebec's right to secede. Possible successors include Justice Beverley McLachlin of British Columbia or even the newest judge, Ontario's Louise Arbour, recently chief-writer of dissent in the Supreme Court's decision on the Quebec secession.

The looming dialysis crisis

Kidney cases may soon outstrip medical services

By Colin Milne

It saves lives, but kidney dialysis is no picnic. Ask Philip Worrall, 45, a former disc jockey from Orlia, Ont. Three times a week for four hours at a clinic, while waiting more than four years—no lies—for a second kidney transplant, he tries to the hospital to lose his blood cleaned. The donated kidney Worrall received when he was in his late 20s began to fail 12 years ago when he went off his anti-rejection medication to deal with another medical problem. So Worrall visits the hospital every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday—no hours allowed. "I get 100 litres of blood cleaned in a four-hour period," he says. And in between sessions, he still feels "lousy." "Dialysis," he says with resignation, "that's my job."

When kidneys fail, the fluid and waste normally flushed out by urination build up inside the body. Staying alive requires dialysis or a new kidney. But Canadians have a dismal track record when it comes to donating organs, at a time when more people are experiencing kidney failure than ever before. Pressure on dialysis services is mounting at an alarming rate. Currently, more than 12,000 Canadians are on the following technology, up from about 3,500 in 1981, according to a new report from the Canadian Institute for Health Information. And demand is rising at a rate of 10 to 15 per cent a year, says Montreal nephrologist Dr. Daniel Fournier, a member of the board of the Canadian Organ Replacement Registry.

But as long as Worrall and others who require dialysis are getting it. That may not always be the case as resources become stretched to a dangerous level. "In the country as a whole, the provision of



Worrall during dialysis: a roller-coaster ride waiting for a new kidney

care for renal [kidney] failure is approaching the limit," says Dr. Norman Marshall, director of dialysis at the London Health Sciences Centre in London, Ont. The prime reason for the crunch is the aging of the population, which means more people are getting diseases that can lead to kidney failure, including diabetes, hypertension and hardening of the arteries. Another factor is certainly improving technology, which has made dialysis suitable for people who were once considered too sick for it. As well, physicians are getting better at identifying kidney problems and starting patients on dialysis earlier.

Normally, kidneys filter about 180 litres of fluid a day, producing between one and two litres of urine. When the organs fail, the body cannot eliminate that waste-filled liquid. Cleaning is done either by haemodialysis, in which a patient's blood flows through a filtering machine at a hospital, or peritoneal dialysis, which uses the patient's abdominal (peritoneal) lining as a filter. Haemodialysis generally takes about four hours and is done three days a week. Peritoneal dialysis can usually be performed at home, and

is often done four to five times a day.

A fifth of all people on dialysis are, like Worrall, on a waiting list for a donated kidney. But demand for transplants is rising, too. According to CITH figures, there were 2,528 people waiting for a kidney transplant in 1997, a year when 969 of the operations were performed. That was up considerably from the 1,606 waiting and 841 transplants in 1991, and the trend is continuing.

Given the pressure on dialysis resources, doctors seem that both caregivers and patients can help prevent kidney disease before it gets out of hand. "We need a much greater effort in caring for those with diabetes and high blood pressure earlier in their disease," says Dr. John Jeffrey of Winnipeg, director of Manitoba's renal transplant program.

When prevention is no longer an issue, the long wait for a new kidney is an emotional roller-coaster ride. In Orlia, Worrall always has his pager at the ready. "If I get the call," he says, "I'll pick my bag and go to the hospital." Sometimes, Worrall's pager goes off late at night. "I go into a cold sweat," he says. "But it's just a wrong number."



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Terror in Turkey

A devastating earthquake sparks anger over relief efforts

In the devastated western Turkish town of Karfir last week, Kemal Bekir, 39, stood in front of a five-story building that was leaning oddly sideways. "I lived here for seven years," he said, shaking his head in disbelief. Then he added, almost in a whisper, "My two sons died." Bekir recounted how he had jumped out of a window when the world's worst earthquake in a decade rumbled and heaved through the town. But he watched helplessly as his wife, carrying his one-year-old son, perished when a section of the building collapsed. "My 17-year-old son also jumped from the window but landed on his head and died," he said, his voice breaking off.

A few blocks away, several men leaned out of a precariously tilted structure and salvaged what they could. "The case did nothing for these days," shouted 38-year-old Ekrem Uzun angrily, as he helped. "My brother was buried under the rubble—we heard him," he said, pounding a fist onto a barrel. "But we couldn't get to him. At the time the rubble came and pulled him out, he was dead."

Days after the quake, measuring a powerful 7.4 on the Richter scale, leveled a broad swath of Turkey's populous industrial heartland, rescuers were still awestruck by the magnitude of the disaster. By week's end, at least 12,000 people were confirmed killed, but some 33,000 were still believed buried—and if so, most were probably dead. As Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit sadly put it: "It is not possible to reach all of them." Yet, amid the grim rescue effort, there were a few miracles. After nearly 100 hours entombed in rubble, a nine-year-old Israeli girl and a 95-year-old Turkish

woman were pulled out alive in Vidaz, just south of Istanbul.

The quake was centered in Izmit, a city of 500,000 where the country's biggest oil refinery caught fire. The destruction raged through an area containing 25 million people, including parts of Istanbul, the country's biggest city. Aid poured in, Turkey mobilized 90,000 soldiers for the rescue effort.

Even so, many Turks were angry at the chaotic initial response by authorities. When Turkish newspapers lambasted the government in Ankara for making no statement about the quake on the first day, President Süleyman Demirel replied harshly that he wasn't able to reach Istanbul by telephone to get information. Many local and foreign officials

said there was little co-ordination in the rescue efforts until at least the third day. Local facilities were overwhelmed. "There's no room in the hospitals," one nurse told *National*. "The waiting list is 24 hours. There's no medication." Part of the problem, according to Richard Van Haegebeek, a member of the UN Emergency Assistance Operations unit, was the enormity of the tragedy. "Let's face it, you have 30,000 to 40,000 people dead,



Devastation in the town of Gelikli; a grim mission in Adapazarı (below): "It is not possible to reach all of them"



Battle for Timor

By Warren Carrigata in Dili

The bearded diplomat came far from the best seat in the house for the big pro-independence rally held on Dili's dusty waterfront last week, but Domingos Do Santos seemed perfectly happy with his perch. He drew on his clove-flavored cigarette and swayed gently to the music wafting from across the street. There, about 5,000 of his compatriots were listening intently as activist leaders predicted that independence for the disputed territory of East Timor is now only a few weeks away. Since the Indonesian military invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975, said Do Santos, speaking in a mixture of Portuguese, Indonesian and the local pataks, Tetum. "There suffered for many years." Along with other East Timor-

peers the vast majority of the 453,000 registered voters to reject an Indonesian offer of special autonomy within the country and instead decide to begin an internationally supervised mission to full statehood. It has been a struggle that has taken 25 years and left as many as 200,000 dead in a territory with a population now estimated at 800,000.

But while Do Santos may hope that independence is within his grasp, the process leading to the vote has been marred by violence and threats. Much of the blame has fallen on pro-independence militants that most people say have been organized by the Indonesian military and usually operate with the connivance of the police. The militia, says Manuel Abreu, who heads the Justice



Rally of East Timorese who want to stay in Indonesia; analysts expect them to lose

will continue and even intensify as the Indonesian military, either with the approval of the government or in defiance of it, fights to the end to retain what is now the country's 27th province. The armed forces swept into East Timor in 1975 and a postcolonial civil war that Marista appeared to be winning. After years of government declarations that Indonesia would never yield in hold on the territory, Indonesian President B. J. Habibie suddenly relented earlier this year and agreed to let the United Nations conduct a referendum on East Timor's future. The referendum evidently surprised the powerful military, which had virtually run the enclave under Habibie's predecessor, long-ruling Gen. Suharto, now deposed. Adding to the complexity, the agreement with the United Nations leaves the armed forces in charge of policing the territory.

How the militia and the military will react it is expected, they lose the vote is a key question. Xanana Gusmao, the ex-guerrilla leader of the pro-independence coalition, told *Melanesia* in an e-mail interview from Jakarta where he is under house arrest, that he fears a violent response. "Their message has always been that, should the vote favor independence, there will be war," he said. A leading pro-Indonesia figure

does not dispute that scenario. "We are now just in the early stages of a civil war," says British-born resident Basilio Dias Anjo, a top official of the Forum for Unity, Democracy and Justice. "The big show will start after the ballot."

In the face of the violence, the United Nations plans to name that decade-old armed force of police and military observers. But the international community has so far refused to publicly consider a peacekeeping force—despite the pleas of pro-independence groups. Nor is it likely that Jakarta would accept foreign troops as long as it means sovereignty.

It is an open question how long the militia and pro-Indonesia groups could fight without help from the Indonesian military. "They have no constituency," one diplomat says. "They are just hoodlums." The conflict, says David Gumen, an independence leader, is largely the result of maneuvering by the Indonesian military. "When Indonesia loses, we will have peace."

The militia are stronger in the western region of East Timor, along the border with the Indonesian province of West Timor, which has been part of Indonesia since the country won its own independence from the Dutch. Pro-Indonesian groups say if the vote goes against them,

they will fight to keep their western stronghold as part of Indonesia. The United Nations says it would oppose such a partition, and Martin says the Jakarta government does not appear to support such a move.

To arrange the vote, the United Nations has established a large presence in the territory, sending the very limited resources of what is now Indonesia's poorest province, UNAMET, in the mission is called, has a staff of almost 1,000 troops, including 371 unarmed police officers and 50 military observers spread out across the province. The foreign presence, supported by more than 1,000 election observers, is considered critical to preserving what promises for peace in East Timor. A group of Canadian MPs, led by Raymond Chan, secretary of state for Asia-Pacific affairs, will be among the observers. Several Canadian volunteers have paid their own way to come. Randall Gaudin, a professor of Pacific Rim studies at Vancouver College in Victoria, says he and his colleagues at the International East Timor Federation Observer Project have frequently been asked by East Timorese to stay behind after the vote to help ensure peace. "We are the symbol of the world, helping to constrain the violence," he says.

The strongest arguments in favor of

Tensions rise on the eve of a crucial vote on the future of Indonesia's disputed territory

etc. Do Santos, a plumber by trade, will vote in a UN-run referendum on Aug. 30 choosing between the continuation of Indonesian rule and independence. "There is no doubt what Do Santos will do. I am for independence," he declared. "I am someone who I will have freedom."

As the vote nears, it seems increasingly clear that Do Santos will not be alone in his choice. Most observers ex-

pect the vast majority of the 453,000 registered voters to reject an Indonesian offer of special autonomy within the country and instead decide to begin an internationally supervised mission to full statehood.

In the latest academic last week, there were fired into several pro-independence offices across East Timor. Marista went on a rampage in the small town of Maliana, seriously wounding several people. Jan Martin, head of the UN mission in East Timor, told *Melanesia* his office has again advised the Indonesian authorities that they must act to stop the violence. Jan Martin, Canadian ambassador to Indonesia who arrived in Dili last week, said Canada has given the same message to the Indonesian government. "It would appear that most instances are provoked by the militia," Saragosa said.

In the aftermath of the Aug. 30 vote, there are expectations that the violence



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World

continued Indonesian rule may well be economic. Even sympathetic Western diplomats concede that half of a small island—perched 450 km from the shores of Australia in the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago—may not be able to sustain itself without massive infusions of foreign aid. Advocates for independence maintain that, in addition to the existing coffee trade, there are potential reserves of offshore oil and gas, as well as minerals and high-grade marble. But the reserves have not been proven and there is little oil and

out with a headband and cape made from red-and-white Indonesian flags. "Integration has been good," he said. "Before, there was nothing."

But it may be too late for that message to win much favour with most East Timorese. Their suffering under Indonesian occupation has been too intense. Nearly everyone in the province has a story of family members killed by Indonesian soldiers. When he was 18, Catholic missionary Almaraz saw his house torches in the days after the 1975 invasion, but mother still smokes. And

Many experts fear new violence if the East Timorese vote for full independence



Pre-independence guerrillas, despite plans, no plans for international peacekeepers

gas production. "We are trying to tell our brothers, 'You have to be realistic,'" says pro-Indonesian leader Amato. "You have to make sure that, if you have independence, you can find your people."

As a Portuguese colony, East Timor was a forgotten leftover of a decaying empire, with only 12 km of paved roads and one high school. Now, paved roads cross the province and Indonesia has created more than 100 high schools and two universities. More than 90 per cent of the provincial budget comes from Jakarta. The message that Indonesia has brought development to the territory has won some converts. At a sparsely attended pro-independence rally held in a dusty field fringed by banana trees near the Dili airport, Indonesian Senator Soesna was declared

the laziest throat and bloodshed, says Domingo De Oliveira, who arrived back in Dili last week after 19 years in exile, are simply creating a backlash. "Despite the violence, the people of East Timor are determined to win independence," he says.

Yet before East Timorese get their own country, there are several hurdles to cross. They must win the vote, which must then be ratified by the new Indonesian parliament, and they must find a way to win the peace, or finger their old adversaries. In all this, they will need the goodwill of their Indonesian adversaries. As planner Du Sauto watched last week's independence rally, its leaders broke out Australian champagne to celebrate their expected success. They may find the task was somewhat premature. ■

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HONDA

Maclean's captures top media awards



The **National Magazine Awards** Maclean's won the prestigious President's Medal for best overall article, "Rape in the Military" by Senior Writer Jane O'Hara; the same package also won the **Gold Award** for investigative reporting, the eighth annual ranking of universities by Assistant Managing Editor Ann Downen Johnson and staff won the **Gold Award** for editorial package, **Honorable Mentions** went to "Hungarian Rhapsody" and "Cinque de Success" by Maclean's film critic Brian D. Johnson and to Maclean's Winter Olympics package, "Gold Rush" by Executive Editor Bob Leves, Sports and Life Editor Janet Deacon and their colleagues.

The **Canadian Journalism Foundation's "Excellence in Journalism" Award** This annual award recognizes the outstanding work of a journalistic organization. Maclean's was selected for devoting major resources to covering important public issues and for maintaining an unflinching commitment to journalistic integrity.

The **Michener Award Honorable Mention** Presented to Maclean's for a series investigating troubles in the Canadian military, the award focuses on the public benefit generated by media projects.

In fact, Maclean's award-winning cover stories are credited with bringing about sweeping changes in the Canadian Forces and having a profound impact on university campuses across Canada.

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A child's torture

A Salt Lake City judge threw the book at a Canadian mother and her male friend for consorting her three-year-old child to death. The Utah state parole board will determine whether Teresa Bluff, 27, and Andrew Fedosov, 46, who became friends in Mountain View, Alta., will spend the rest of their lives in prison for the murder of Rebecca Bluff. She was beaten with a whip and a belt in October, shortly after Bluff joined Fedosov in Salt Lake.

Back to Columbine

Hugging each other and cheering, 2,000 Columbine High School students returned to classes in Littleton, Colo., four months after two teenage gunmen killed 15 people in a suicidal rampage. The school has been equipped with 35 surveillance cameras and all students are required to carry identification badges.

Diana and the paparazzi

A French prosecutor investigating the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, recommended that no charges be brought against photographers who followed her car before it crashed. The prosecutor's office said sole blame belonged with driver Henri Paul, whom some showed was heavily drunk when he died along with Diana and her boyfriend, Dodi Fayed.

A mousy personality

U.S. scientists made a mousy-grumpy personality most accessible by injecting mouse embryos with a gene from the fruitless genetic code. The study, reported by researchers at Atlanta's Emory University, opened the prospect of creating personality disorders in humans—no, critics feared, modifying people's behavior.

Lifting Cuba's embargo

Senior minority leader Tim Wirth called for an end to a U.S. embargo on food and medicine sales to Cuba—part of a wider trade ban—after meeting with President Fidel Castro. Democratic Wirth was the highest-ranking U.S. official in recent years to visit the Communist island.



A massive protest against Milosevic

Handholding placards demanding change and free elections, a woman in Belgrade protests against President Slobodan Milosevic outside the Yugoslav federal parliament. A crowd of 150,000 chanted "Leave, Slobodan, leave," but some observers say the country's opposition may be too fragmented to topple Milosevic.

A rough ride for George W. Bush

Fresh from his narrow-than-expected victory in the Iowa "caucus poll," Republican presidential frontrunner George W. Bush last week encountered the first serious turbulence of his campaign: identities in media questioning about whether he had ever used cocaine. Edging away from his long-standing refusal to discuss the issue, Bush, 52, indicated he had not consumed any illegal drugs since at least 1974. But there was one bright spot for Bush: the Republican field shrank by

one when former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander dropped out after placing sixth in the unofficial straw poll of 25,000 Republicans in Ames, Iowa.

As Bush fended off questions about his personal conduct, Bill Clinton's scandal-plagued presidency was dealt another blow with the release of the book *Bill and Hillary: The Marriage*. Author Christopher Andersen alleges that the First Lady had an affair with her Little Rock, Ark., law partner, Vince Foster, who committed suicide while serving as a presidential aide during Clinton's first term. Andersen quotes an anonymous source as saying, "Hillary and Vince were deeply in love."

Troubles mount for Boris Yeltsin

Former premier Yegor Gerasimov, widely seen as Russia's most popular politician, added his clout to forces challenging President Boris Yeltsin. He and influential Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov formed a new centre-left political alliance, which initially will battle the Communists in December parliamentary elections. One of them is also expected to run for president against the Yeltsin camp when Yeltsin's term ends next June. Yeltsin faced more embarrassment in southern Dagestan, where Russian casualties mounted in a struggle with Muslim rebels.

Winnipeg's
landmark store
even lost its
need for change

The End of EATON'S

By Kimberley Noble

It seemed like a simple, low-stakes, prearranged sale. Jim Pale and Nicole Pelletier from Thunder Bay, Ont., were to be wed on Aug. 21 in the lush Montreal suburb of Veveyrue. The day before the big event, they just wanted to pick up the groom's new \$1,000 suit. After calling the T. Eaton Co.'s downtown Montreal store to confirm that the pants had been shortened, they arrived to find locked doors. A security guard with the attitude of a nightclub bouncer told them there was no way he could let them in. Somebody in the small crowd gathered outside the St-Catherine Street store

grand old dame of Canadian retailing was filing for bankruptcy protection.

While Eaton's was open for business across the country by Saturday, there were no words of reassurance for a staff of 13,000 whose jobs are on the line. Instead, management announced that the 64 stores in the chain would start liquidating wares—and shoppers waited to hear how deep the discounts would run.

This will be the company's second trip to the bankruptcy court: in February, 1997, Eaton's closed 21 stores, laid off 2,000 workers and emerged with a line of credit worth \$250 million that was secured by everything the chain owned. This time, there will be no attempted restructuring. If a gem protection under the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act, Eaton's may be able to avoid liabilities for breaking mall leases and for failing to meet obligations to Norwest Financial Capital Canada Inc., the firm that owns its credit-card operations. This court trip is about protecting assets to wind down a business.

The chain of events that led to the bankruptcy protection move began last Monday. Eaton's executives announced that they had failed to find a buyer for part or all of the chain after three months of trying. Talks with the only interested suitor—widely thought to be Cincinnati-based Federated Department Stores Inc., on behalf of its Macy's stores, and possibly including Sears Canada Inc. as a partner—had collapsed. Eaton's responded by closing its major Toronto warehouse, laying off 360 workers and turning away much-

loads of merchandise. Restructuring experts said that shutdown was tantamount to waving the white flag. "You have to remember what time of year it is," one said. "This is August. It may not mean much to you, but it's Christmas to them."

There were angry signs through the week that the once-pride chain had reached the end of the road. While staff put locks on the Toronto warehouse, Eaton's chairman and chief executive officer Brian Ballantyne made some brave noises about regrouping and how nothing's over till it's over. But the normally going-the executive was not comical. He conceded that winding down Eaton's "may be an option."

Then Nap Stephen, the court-appointed monitor who became Eaton's chief financial officer, agreed to meet with its chairman of Repto Enterprises Inc., a troubled papermaker based in Sarnia, Ont. "When the second-in-command gets another job," says bankruptcy expert Richard McLaren, a University of Western Ontario law professor, "that's a pretty clear indication that it's time to turn off the life support."

Investor-clubby analyst, Buckin June, 1998, the company's shares went on the market for \$15 apiece. But once Ballantyne announced that there was no deal to sell the chain, shares tumbled on Monday from \$1.85 to a low of 47 cents, before edging up to close Thursday at 71 cents. Out of

Quebec came the rumblings that Montreal-based Timmy Hétger Canada Inc. had brought in a squad of employees to seize an estimated \$500,000 of its popular teen fashions at Eaton's stores. The clothing maker was not taking any chances on getting caught on a list of creditors who might—or might not—see payment in any winding down of the



The grand dame of retailing seeks bankruptcy protection while selling off her inventory

asked what Pale would do if he couldn't get his suit. "I'll have to go like this," he said, gesturing to his golf shirt, jeans shorts and sandals.

Across Quebec, Eaton's shoppers found more closed stores last Friday. At the end of the most tumultuous week in its 130-year history, the embattled retailer shut all nine of its Quebec outlets, sending 2,000 employees home, and got a reading bulb on its shares. Last night, Eaton's finally imposed the bleak news that almost every retail analyst, supplier, clerk and customer had come to expect—the

That sinking feeling

Eaton's stock has been on a downward slide since it went on the market last year. The highest closing price of \$16 was reached on June 5, 1998, the day after the shares began trading on the Toronto Stock Exchange.



company. Some wholesalers suggested that Eaton's closed Quebec stores on Friday to prevent other suppliers from grabbing back their merchandise, too.

By Thursday, the insolvency world was in high gear. Vulture funds specializing in trade debt were circling the unsecured trade creditors, offering to pay cash for their Eaton's IOUs. Canada's leading bankruptcy lawyers were either at Eaton's meetings or had been asked to stand by. One lawyer said it was clear that "they have run out of cash and they have run out of hope."

Some of the Eaton brothers also arrived at company headquarters in the early hours of Thursday to pick up their offices and to inform the half-dozen employees of their private management company that they, too, should get ready to vacate. (John Craig, Fredrik, Thor and George Eaton, who still own 52 per cent of the company, have seen the combined value of their stock tumble from \$190 million in June, 1998, to just under \$9 million.)

What is striking in the Eaton's saga, in the speed of its

Vulture funds are circling unsecured creditors, offering to pay cash for Eaton's IOUs

descent to a miserable commodity. In May, when the Eaton family announced that it was putting the company up for sale, the worst scenario was that someone else would not survive. The suggestion was that a big American retailer might come calling with a stack of U.S. dollars and wipe founder Timothy Eaton's legacy off the map. By July, Bay Street financiers were calling Eaton's a "total ozone play," meaning the famous brand was thought to hold little or no value, and potential buyers like Federated and Sears were looking to pay only what Eaton's store leases and property holdings might be worth. Now the only question seems to be whether Eaton's is worth more dead than alive.

Even ingers Eaton's fate has decided it may be better to just let the old god Winnipeg mayor Glen Murray, for example, it is as monumental as any Canadian when it comes to the company's history. As a mayor in Montreal, Murray worked part-time in the St-Catherine's Eaton store, and he says he has lost count of how many times he has bought at Eaton's during his decade in municipal politics. But Murray has concluded that Winnipeg will be better off without its landmark Portage Avenue store. It has been allowed to linger, unloved and unmaintained, for so long that it has become an obstacle to rejuvenating the city's downtown. "Portage Avenue needs a strong retailer, and Eaton's is not a strong retailer," Murray says. "There's a



A one-day shutdown in Montreal: a sign of things to come?

some in Winnipeg of that we have to get on with it. I am just anxious to see it resolved."

Civic officials in Montreal feel much the same way. "Certainly, we would like Eaton's to continue," says Gary Benoit, the City of Montreal's senior commissioner in charge of downtown development. "But should it come to the point where the Eaton organization cannot pursue its business, there are quite a few other groups that have shown interest in utilizing that space."

If its application for court protection is approved, Eaton's will have 30 days to draw up a proposal for creditors. In the month ahead, it will keep talking to potential buyers of its assets or shares—a situation that interested buyers have been waiting for all along, according to corporate experts. "Nobody ever wanted the whole lot and oodles," says a leading, Toronto-based restructuring executive. "They knew that if they waited long enough, they could buy [Eaton's] out of bankruptcy at a lot cheaper."

Still, some die-hard loyalists hold out hope. "I would not be surprised if, on some day, or the next day, a white knight comes along and buys it," one former Eaton's executive says. York Management Services Inc. of Somerset, N.J., the firm that bought Canadian Kmart from its U.S. parent and flipped it to Zellen Inc., is considered a possibility. "All I can say is for us to get involved, a handful of issues would have to be addressed," Gary Nach, York Management's executive vice-president told *Maclean's*. "But we're watching." Joe Segal, a Vancouver-based Eaton's director, said: "We are still hopeful that something will develop."

While the end of Eaton's unfolds, at least there was good news for the Montreal bridgegroom. The security guard finally provided the couple with a phone number to reach the alterations department. A caller begged to assure Polster and Pole that she would take care of their problems. "Jim," the caller announced, "will be married in his suit." The guard cracked open the door to pass out the garment bag containing Pole's suit—altered pants and all. The two dual Eaton's customers clutched their prize as they walked past a banner promoting the St-Catherine's Eaton store late hours. "It's never too late," said the sign.

With Philip Fine in Montreal and John Neal in Toronto

In search of a safe landing

By Dairine McMurdy

It would be hard to find two companies with a more open dislike of each other than Canadian Airlines and Air Canada. In addition to competing for passengers and routes, they have very different histories, corporate cultures and management styles. But this week, for the second time this decade, a financial crisis at Canadian will bring the two rivals—and their separate agendas—so close together again.

Last last week, an opening foray aimed at salvaging Canadian in some form got off to an auspicious, if predictable, start: Air Canada made an opening bid, and Canadian accepted it. Without attaching a price tag, Air Canada wants certain international routes—in Asia, in particular—currently controlled by Canadian. Air Canada is also willing to acquire certain unspecified "associated assets" and in share ticket codes, which would allow passengers to move freely between the airlines. Another key aspect of the proposal was a pledge to preserve jobs for a significant number of Canadian's 16,000 workers.

The prospect to save jobs is critical to win Ottawa's approval for a rescue plan for Canadian. The Liberals are well aware that the bulk of jobs—along with Canadian's headquarters—are in British Columbia and Alberta, where Liberal support is weak.

In fact, Air Canada played a key role in the federal government's decision on Aug. 15 to suspend competition rules for 90 days to allow the two companies to talk freely. Ottawa made the move at the request of Canadian. It, in turn, was responding to overtures made by Air Canada. In an interview with *Maclean's* before the proposal to Canadian was announced, Robert Milne,



the newly appointed chief executive of Air Canada, said the airline watches Canadian's moves closely. "We operate on a glancing basis that they will continue to be around," he added. "[But] the fact of the matter is there is considerable competition in Canada whether it's WestJet, charter airlines or transborder routes."

Air Canada may face other competi-

A right arrival in Montreal: on sign of a political hotbed on the horizon

While the federal government clearly favours a made-in-Canada solution, there have also been suggestions that Ottawa might ease foreign ownership limits from the present maximum of 25 per cent to help woo an international investor. The Con-

Canadian needs a partner to stay aloft—and that has brought Air Canada calling

tion for Canadian's assets. The financial community has been buzzing with speculation that Ores Corp., a cash-rich leveraged buyout firm headed by Toronto financier Gerry Schwartz, may engineer a deal in which Ores would merge and control both airlines. Vancouver financier Jimmy Pattison and Calgary-based WestJet have also been tapped in possible bidders for parts of Canadian's portfolio.

versary's Association of Canada sees that as the preferred solution. "We'd rather see a foreign venture come in to keep competition lively," says spokeswoman Jennifer Hillard. "Why should we just let these airlines cave things up to suit themselves?"

But despite the agency of Canadian's plight—and despite the federal Liberals' own aspirations in Western Canada—there is no discussion of federal finan-

ing. "Regional pressures," says one Liberal strategist, "are not so deep that the government would participate in a bailout."

With a \$500-million cash infusion needed to survive the winter, Canadian may soon have to lower its expectations.

Operating an expensive fleet of 'oddballs and orphans'

It lost another \$107.8 million in the first quarter of this year and is on track for another losing year in 1999. For the moment, management is stalling with its strategy of trying to preserve foreign routes while juggling a domestic market-sharing alliance with no overlapping service.

But Canadian faces other steep hurdles. Its problems are rooted in low revenues rather than excessive operating

costs. That leaves little opportunity to rebuild its finances through cost cutting. Previous cuts—along with the recession in Asia—have already damaged Canadian lucrative business-class passenger base. In Canada's 1998 annual report, chief executive Kevin Benson wrote that business traffic was down

"due to many years of capital restrictions and cost reductions resulting in a product that was simply not competitive to that of the competition."

Already, the investment community has lost interest in Canadian's fate. The company has market capitalization of under \$80 million, and over the past five years the stock has dropped 90 per cent in value. Airline analyst Jacques Kavanagh of Yorkton Securities Inc. in Toronto says: "I don't know any analysts that seriously follow Canadian anymore. It's

not a 'boy' story, so why bother?"

The inability to control costs affects vital areas of operation. Canadian's balance sheet is vulnerable because of currency leverage on currency exchange rates and rising fuel costs. Every one-cent drop in the value of the Canadian dollar against the U.S. dollar cuts the airline \$11.7 million in operating and interest expenses. That is compounded by a 1998 cost of \$270 million (U.S.) in senior debt notes, with interest payable in American dollars. And rising fuel costs exact a stiff price: every one-cent per litre rise cuts the airline \$16 million a year.

Other factors make Canadian a relatively dismal investment at merger partner. It has a 20-year deal with the Sable reservation system that was negotiated in 1994 as part of American Airlines' rescue package and would be costly to break. The company's union contracts would raise tricky issues of seniority and staff integration in the event of a merger.

Canadian's aging fleet is also a drawback. It relies heavily on full-faircraft Boeing 737s, which also need costly "brush-kin" upgrades to meet new world standards for noise emissions by 2002. Because Canadian has grown through a series of corporate mergers, it flies a hodgepodge of different aircraft—so it must spend more on pilot training, maintenance and parts inventory. "It's a fleet of oddballs and orphans," says Michael Murphy, director of Transport 2000 Canada, the Ottawa-based lobby group. "There's always more of a challenge than uniformity." He adds that while Canadian has a "remarkable, exemplary" safety record, the advanced age of its aircraft—especially its DC-10s—is a subject of discussion.

Another concern is the toll that perpetual financial crises have taken on employees and morale. In 1993, Canadian staffers contributed \$200 million in wage and pension benefits to save the airline. In 1996, they took another \$70 million in wage roll-backs. This time, workers have been silent. Just like the airline itself, they, too, find they are running on empty.

With John Golden in Ottawa and Ross Lasser in Toronto

They're No. 1

Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd., Industrial Bank of Japan Ltd. and Fuji Bank Ltd. are merging to create the biggest bank in the world, with combined assets of more than \$1.9 trillion. The new bank plans to eliminate up to 6,000 jobs, or 17 per cent of the present staff.

Alcoa wins Reynolds

Pittsburgh-based Alcoa reached a \$4.4-billion (U.S.) agreement to merge with Reynolds Metals Co. of Richmond, Va. Combined, the two aluminum producers have 120,000 employees and projected revenues of \$20.5 billion (U.S.), while Montreal-based Alcan Aluminium Ltd. and its two European merger partners have 91,000 workers and projected revenues of \$21.6 billion (U.S.).

Empire cashes in

Empire Co. Ltd. of Sullivan, N.S., owner of the Sobey's and K&A grocery chains, agreed to sell its 25-per-cent stake in Moose-based Harewood Bros. Co. for \$625 million (U.S.). The deal with Food Lion Inc. of Salisbury, N.C., came about after Food Lion bid \$3.6 billion (U.S.) to take over Harewood.

Molson sheds Beaver

Molson Inc. of Montreal announced the \$68-million sale of its Beaver Lumber division to Home Hardware Stores Ltd. The brewing company has been shedding unwanted assets to focus on making beer. Earlier, Molson sold its stake in Home Depot Canada and Quebec-based B&B-Dixie.

Battling BAT

A class action lawsuit has been filed to block British American Tobacco from buying the 58 per cent of Inasco Ltd. that it does not already own. The suit claims that the \$103.3-billion transaction is not in the best interests of Inasco shareholders. BAT wants to keep its parent, British American Tobacco Co., while selling off Inasco's non-tobacco subsidiaries Canada Trust, Shoppers Drug Mart Ltd. and Genstar Development Co. Toronto Dominion Bank proposes to buy Canada Trust's parent, CIT Financial Services Inc., for \$8 billion.

TD lays claim to a knockout quarter

The Toronto Dominion Bank reported a third-quarter profit of \$1.68 billion—the highest quarterly earnings by a Canadian bank ever, and the first time one of the Big Five banks made more than \$1 billion in three months.

The remarkable showing was fuelled by the bank's sale of 11.5 per cent of its TD Warehouse discount brokerage to a public share offering. However, even without the Warehouse sale, TD posted a record \$391 million, beating last year's quarter by 36 per cent.

"We've had good quarters before," said TD chairman Charles Bailey, "but this was truly an extraordinary quarter."

The Royal Bank of Canada, meanwhile, reported a third-quarter profit of \$602 million, three per cent more than last year. Its revenue grew by eight per cent, to \$2.7 billion. Royal's earnings-per-share growth could be pretty good over the next year, if it keeps up that rate of revenue growth and controls expenses," said Michael Ancell, an analyst at Edward Jones Corp.

The Red Planet

Will the Terminator's movie-themed restaurant chain soon be terminated? The prospect was raised when Planet Hollywood International Inc. said it plans to file for bankruptcy protection after naming in the red for four quarters and amassing a debt of \$250 million (U.S.). The Orlando-based chain, with 80 restaurants, is partly owned by Arnold Schwarzenegger (left), Bruce Willis and Sylvester Stallone.



Easing taxes

Ending months of speculation, Finance Minister Paul Martin emerged from a Liberal caucus meeting in Halifax to announce that Canadians can expect some tax relief next year. "We are going to cut taxes, but we are not

going back [into debt]," Martin said. Also vowing to make cuts was Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin, who said he will reduce income taxes in order to keep and attract skilled workers. During the election campaign earlier this year, Tobin had said that Newfoundland could not afford the cuts.

Financial outlook

In July, goods and services in the consumer price index cost 1.8 per cent more than they did a year ago, Statistics Canada reports. The rising price of gasoline—up 9.6 per cent over last year—put the greatest pressure on inflation. The Bank of Canada forecast a continuing strong economy, however, with inflation remaining well within the central bank's target range of one to three per cent. As a result, analysts pre-

dict that while the U.S. Federal Reserve is expected to raise interest rates this week, the Bank of Canada is likely to hold off on a similar increase.

THE INFLATION GAP

Canadian spent between 1.2 per cent and 3.1 per cent more for goods and services in July than they did a year ago



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Eight years ago this summer, Paul Alofs was the man to watch in Canada's retail music business. As head of HMV Canada, he had just presided over the opening of that company's flagship store in Toronto, a few doors from the venerable but dowdy home of Sam the Record Man. Where Sam's was sparsely and cluttered, HMV was slick and stylish—2,250 square metres of halogen lights, pulsating speakers and giant video screens. Then, Alofs assured us, was the future of music retailing.

Funny? Try the past. Although big retail chains such as HMV and Sam's still dominate the industry, the Internet is rapidly gaining ground as a distribution channel for recorded music. And no less an expert than Alofs himself now believes that traditional music stores will soon be as popular as old lobby dance records. "I hate to say it," he explains from his new office in San Diego, "but I don't think the future of music is in bricks-and-mortar retailing. Any investor who looks five years down the road is going to look at those long-term record stores and their inventory and see a billion instead of assets."

Well, he would say that, wouldn't he? Alofs, it should be noted, is now happily ensconced at an Internet start-up called MP3.com, which went public last month and now sports a market value of \$3.6 billion. This for a company with 250 employees, revenues of \$2.8 million and a deficit of \$9.4 million in the latest quarter. In layman's terms, that means it loses more than three dollars for every dollar it takes in.

Go ahead and laugh—Alofs doesn't mind. At his core, he's an old operator: as MP3.com's years were worth \$25 million, that's up of his \$300,000-a-year salary and \$5,340-a-month living allowance. Not bad considering that he's only been with MP3.com since May.

Still, if there's one thing Alofs, 45, knows a lot about, it's retail. A native of Windsor, Ont., he spent six years at HMV, during which it rose from sixth place in Canada to No. 1 in music sales. In 1995, he left to run BMG Music Canada, a division of Germany's Bertelsmann. Two years later, the Disney Co. put him in charge of its entire \$60-a-week North American retail network. In career terms, Alofs had it all.

Not long after arriving at Disney, however, Alofs felt the consumer-music market getting to worry that he was raising out



Alofs, handling the big record labels

The sound of free music

on the most exciting marketing opportunity of his lifetime: the Internet. Like most big companies, Disney recognized the power of e-commerce but viewed it as an extension of its core business. Alofs wanted more. "I wanted to dive right in to the Internet, because to really make a here you have to leave behind everything that's worked for you in the past. That's why companies that are just dipping their toes in the Internet will never succeed."

Alofs seems to have found what he was looking for. Launched in early 1998, MP3.com serves as a hub for independent musicians who want to distribute their music using the MP3/G3 audio format, which compresses sound files for easy transmission over the Internet. After downloading a song—a process that can take anywhere from a few seconds to several minutes, depending on the speed of the Internet connection—users can play them on their computers or transfer them to a Walkman-like machine. As of last week, those were more than 130,000 songs on the MP3.com site, all available for downloading free of charge.

Alofs's title as president of strategic business assets, a fancy way of saying it's his job to figure out how to make money off this. Advertising is one source: the site attracts more than 340,000 visitors a day, skewed heavily to college kids. The company also brings in some money by manufacturing and selling CDs. Musicians who sign with MP3.com are allowed to specify the price of their CDs and get 50 per cent of the revenue, five times the standard royalty rate for new artists. "By giving artists more power to communicate directly with consumers," Alofs says, "we're weakening the monopoly control of the record companies to the benefit of everyone who loves music."

Perhaps. Any week now, the old-gold music labels are expected to launch a counteroffensive by releasing their own audio compression format, which will supposedly make it harder for music pirates to copy songs. But the real test for Alofs and his co-workers will come when one of the site's low-budget independent bands scores its first major hit. Will it stick with MP3.com as well it cash in by signing with a major record label? Is it about the music or the money? Alofs may be right that the record industry is due for a shakeup, but the revolution he is helping to lead has a long way to run.

Villeneuve's F1 season in the pits

Almost from the moment he first sat behind the wheel of a racing car, Jacques Villeneuve has been winning records. But the perfect season ahead the 1997 Formula One champion established at the Hungarian Grand Prix last week is probably one that he would have preferred to avoid. In the 11 races so far, he has not yet managed to cross the finish line. In Hungary, the 28-year-old from St-Joviste-Richelieu, Que., coasted to a stop with a burst clutch 17 laps from the end of the 77-lap circuit. "For a while, it looked as if we might at least finish this one," Villeneuve murmured as he clambered from his car. "It's all very, very frustrating."

So frustrating, in fact, that he is contemplating leaving the British American Racing team that is owned and managed by his longtime manager and close friend, Craig Pollock. In the wake of the Hungarian event, Villeneuve insisted he wanted to continue with the BAR team. "But," he added, "if they don't achieve a sufficient level to make progress and become champions, I would leave." Still one of Grand Prix racing's most



The race taking a breake: 1999 is 'very, very frustrating'

sought-after drivers, Villeneuve wouldn't have a problem finding a new team. And Pollock admits he will not stand in his way. "If we aren't competitive by the end of next year," he said, "I won't want to keep Jacques."

Bran Van goes big time



Dr Sabo's TV fame

The members of the eclectic hip-hop band Bran Van 3000 are having quite a year. First, the Montreal-based group wrote a song for a Gap television commercial. Then, their 1998 song, *Drivinq in L.A.*, was selected for a Rolling Rock beer ad, which was broadcast on British television at the end of June. Viewers fell in love with the tune and it topped the UK pop

charts to its current spot at No. 3. And last week, the nine-member ensemble, led by its leader James Dr Sabo, 30, appeared on the famous BBC-TV music show *Top of the Pops*.

This isn't Dr Sabo's first brush with TV fame. Before launching a second career in music, he was a Hollywood director who made videos for the likes of pop star Britney Spears and Canadian singer-songwriter Sarah McLachlan. After an attempt at filmmaking failed, Dr Sabo returned to Montreal and started the band. "I'll say anything once," he says, "but I never



Garcia at the PGA championships; No. 1 teen

A golfing phenom

Sergio Garcia's vibrant home video game *Tiger Woods's* aggressive golf game—so accurate his negative when he found himself challenging his 23-year-old hero for the PGA championship last week. Garcia, 19, a native of Carolina, Spain, who turned professional after the 1999 Masters, was once the speculator in Melville, Ill., with his cohenance. "The crowds were amazing," says Garcia, who drew cheers and applause. "I have no words to say what they did to me." And his final score, only one stroke behind Woods, marked the beginning of what could be a great golfing rivalry. "I'm a little unhappy I didn't win," says Garcia, who plays at the Mediterranean Club de Golf in Bonol, Spain, where his father, Victor, is a golf pro. "But inside me, I feel like I won."



Miles (center) as practice; competitive play starts too early

Sports Special Report

No Quick Fix

Canadians say their hockey system has problems. Can the Open Ice summit provide answers?

By James Duncan

Ken Dryden is an optimist. He won six Stanley Cups as a player with the Montreal Canadiens, yet as an administrator accepted a job in 1997 that, to some observers, was professionally suicide—trying to rebuild the institutionally ailing Toronto Maple Leafs.

Dryden said back then he saw opportunity in all that trouble, and he proved his point by helping the team reach the Stanley Cup semifinals. Now, the Leafs president has seized an even more daunting challenge. He is spearheading the Open Ice conference in Toronto from Aug. 25 to 27, at which he and other Canadian hockey leaders will try to agree on ways to fix the country's mislabeled player develop-

ment system. "It is easy to be cynical about conferences," he says. "But the reason you do these things is that it is worth trying."

Can one conference redirect the course of Canadian hockey? The Open Ice advisory board, which includes Canadian Hockey Association president Bob Nicholson and major-junior boss Dave Branch, faces staggering odds. There are so many jurisdictions administering the game at the minor level that it would be impossible for any one organization to unilaterally impose changes in rules or training methods. As well, many coaches, parents and players are resistant to changing the hard-hitting, dump-and-chase style of play despite recent losses at the international

level. But a recent poll conducted by Northstar Research Partners for Nelson Bowers, the sponsor of Open Ice, found strong public support for reform. In all, a whopping 85 per cent of respondents agreed the national game is in need of an overhaul. "There's too much emphasis on size and hitting, and not enough on finesse and skill," says Kurt Goodfellow, 17, a 12th-grade student in Calgary who took part in the poll. Diving that concerns is the realization that Canada no longer dominates its favourite game. While 68 per cent of National Hockey League players are Canadian, Europe has won five of the last six most-valuable-player awards in the National Hockey League, including the last three in a row. Canada also recorded disappointing results at recent international competitions, notably the 1996 World Cup loss to the United States and the fourth-place finish at the 1998 Winter Olympics. James Arnett, Molson's chief executive, says his company chose to underwrite most of the cost of the three-day summit to support efforts to rejuvenate the Canadian system. That, he said, helps protect the company's investment in hockey, both through ownership of the Montreal Canadiens and through the marketing of its beer. "We see ourselves as part of the fabric of the game," Arnett says, adding, "It is vitally important to us that hockey in Canada remain healthy."

Longtime observers say the warning signs were apparent even in 1972, when only Paul Henderson's last-minute goal in Moscow saved Canada from having to admit another country's system was in equal. Comparing with the Soviet methods, minor hockey in Canada was too focused on playing games rather than practicing, and on building strength rather than improving agility and fitness. That approach still produces players who are suited to the grinding NHL style. But critics say the failure to address the Canadian system's weaknesses over the last quarter century has not only resulted in declining fortunes internationally, but has deprived kids of skills development and creativity, and even driven players out of the game. "Years ago, kids started dropping out at 16 or 17," says Nicholson. "Now, it is 13 or 14."

Northstar's poll of 2,313 people, which confirmed delegates will use in their discussions this week, reveals regional differences in attitudes. For instance, 67 per cent of respondents said hockey was important to the country. Yet only 59 per cent of Quebecers agreed with that claim—perhaps because national pride is an attachment to Quebec rather than to Canada. As well, the poll found that Canadians were more concerned about the cost of putting kids through minor hockey than they were about violence in the sport. Although hockey students widely support Open Ice, some critics organize for stacking ponds with too many administrators and not enough players with recent on-ice experience, or European coaches, whose programs have produced so many NHL stars. Moreover, the agenda largely ignores two components of player development—better off-ice training and nutrition. "Working on skills is only one way to improve things," says T. B. Goodman, a Los Angeles-based trainer who works with dozens of NHL stars. "But you have to do it in a well-rounded approach, to get kids physically prepared to compete."

Organizers say the criticism is overblown, saying the summit

Canadians on their game

Northstar Research Partners interviewed 2,313 Canadians to gauge attitudes on the pleasures, problems and importance of hockey. The poll is accurate plus or minus 2.7 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

What fans of professional hockey like most about their sport



What fans of professional hockey dislike about their sport

	Total	Male	Female
Fights	54%	54%	42%
Way too violent	35%	34%	37%
Too much play	5%	5%	6%
Cost too much	6%	6%	4%
Outstanding	4%	5%	2%

Perceived need among fans for change in the Canadian player development system



Organization fans think should be most responsible for making changes



Dryden: 'the reason you do things is that it is worth trying'

would get too unwieldy if it tried to address every aspect of player development. As it is, they must confront issues ranging from fighting and bodychecking to government funding and the age at which kids can be drafted into major-junior hockey. As well, organizers cite the presence at the conference of current and former players such as Trevor Linden and Steve Larmer, and of coaches such as Detroit's Scotty Bowman and the Dallas Stars' Ken Hitchcock. "The most successful coaches," Dryden says, "know what makes their players tick, and what makes them play their best."

Canada doesn't dominate its game anymore

girls and boys. Still, Mäse worries that kids are not having as much fun as they once did, and adds: "We're starting them too young and putting them in competitive play too early." Nicholson, whose organization presides over minor hockey as well as Canada's national team, says he doesn't want change for change's sake. "There are a lot of things we do right, don't forget," he says. Still, he says Open Ice has a

Minor hockey officials who participated in the poll say grassroots training is already changing. "It's better on a skill-development basis," says Gordon Mäse, 45, a chartered accountant from Port Coquitlam, B.C., who has coached both



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

chance to bring meaningful reform because it is so widely supported. "You can't change key components in the game with only one organization," he says. "You need all levels of the game involved, and we have that."

Dryden hopes the conference will become an annual convention at which the hockey world will debate the issues of the day. From the inaugural event, though, he doesn't expect miracles. "What I'd like to see happen," he says cautiously, "is that we put a focus on what really needs to be done." If that is achieved, Dryden will have advanced the cause of Canadian hockey, and perhaps brought optimism back in style.

With Ryan, Ken Jabo, Brian and Michael MacLean in Toronto

Problems with player development*



* among fans with strong views

Possible solutions*



Figures represent net positive effect, a positive response minus negative responses

Source: Statistics Canada Research

Film



The wrong stuff

A muddled story line throws a space flick off course

The Astronaut's Wife

Directed by Rand Ravich

When cinematic *déjà vu* strikes in a darkened theater, chaos can ensue as the director at hand is Hollywood product, cooked up by the marketing department. So it occurs with *The Astronaut's Wife*. The film has strong echoes of *Rosemary's Baby*, with dobles of *The Right Stuff* and *Alien* thrown in. Writer-director Rand Ravich's feature debut is

the tale of an apple-pie hero inhabited by a nasty alien intelligence, and dragging his wife down with him. It does move along briskly, making up for melodrama with some gun-toting flourishes. But the film is often silly and ultimately forgettable. *Rosemary's Baby* was terrifying because the supernatural evil at its core was so like the corruption in everyday life. The malice in *The Astronaut's Wife* seems concocted—a mere plot device.

Theron (left), Depp, intense change of the last scary eye and peasy lips

Spencer Atracost (Johnny Depp) is a weathered and a space cowboy, much like the test pilots in *The Right Stuff*. His winsome wife, Jilisa (Charlize Theron), is an unassuming Grade 2 teacher with a heart of gold (never mind that the looks and dress like a supermodel even her manure is runway-perfect). But then something weird happens while Spencer is repairing a satellite while on a routine shuttle mission. A fellow astronaut dies of a stroke shortly after their return, prepping his wife to commit suicide. Spencer himself, a good ol' boy of the cosmos, moves to the Big Apple to become a high-flying aerospace executive—ooh, so diabolical. This becomes apparent in numerous extreme closeups of Depp and Theron's increasingly scary eyes and peasy mouths. Director Ravich clearly decided that having sexed such pretty lead actors, he wasn't going to waste an opportunity to make photographic kink-fest with them.

He did, however, waste more opportunities to rescue a story that is hopelessly lost in space. Ravich to filmmaker: What precisely is the alien force after? Why is a 1970s radio required for contact with the extraterrestrials? And why did you have to set yourself up for a sequel so blatantly?

Patrick Malachy

Coming of age in wartime

West Beyroth

Directed by Ziad Doucine

In 1975, and as remembered Beirut teenager Tarik, seven detention outside a classroom, he witnesses the massacre of passengers on a Palestinian bus—the opening atrocity of the 15-year Lebanese civil war. This early scene in writer-director Ziad Doucine's largely autobiographical debut, *West Beyroth* launches his combination of new war as first images but ultimately conveys the joy of youth. New living outside Lebanon (he has worked on crews for directors including Quentin Tarantino), Doucine has

created a vibrant excursion into a modern night mare.

The film, which won the International Critics' Award at last year's Toronto Film Festival, follows the fortunes of Tarik and Ouss, non-judging Muslims, and their Christian friend May. As first, they wander through the streets of their divided city unperturbed by danger. But as the conflict wears down the adults in their midst, it erodes the spirits of the youthful trio. *West Beyroth* (Doucine uses the French name for the city to reflect that influence) is a roughly crafted and unevenly acted. But it compensates with humor and firsthand insight into how adolescents survive an extended trip through a house of horror.

F&L

Master of a grim universe

The creative force behind *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *Oz* uses his bleak subject matter as a way of refracting the meaning of life

By Andrew Clark

Tom Fontana surveys the Rocky Mountains as he sits on the patio of the luxurious *Barfly* Springs Hotel. To the creator of some of the most critically acclaimed series to appear on North American television in the last decade, there is no drama in the stunning setting—at least not of the sort that annoys him. Fontana finds inspiration in turmoil and within the gas. When he creates characters, he asks himself three questions. What do they think? What do they feel? And who do they want to become with? "In America, at least, we want our TV to lie to us," he says. "I think viewers in TV face this dilemma every single time they watch. Do I lie or do I tell the truth? Do I deal with an issue in all its complexity or do I just make it seem easy? Can I give a

character alcoholism and have him face it and be free of it in 46 minutes?"

In his 18 years in the business, Fontana has learned to pack more into an hour-long program (46 minutes a week) left after the commercials and credits have run) than just about any producer in television. Some would say too much. His shows, NBC's *Homicide: Life on the Street* and HBO's *Oz*, portray the raw, assembly side of the United States. At times, they are so brutally violent that they are almost unwatchable. Fontana's uncompromising stance has won him an Emmy Award, two Writers' Guild Awards, three Peabody Awards, four Television Critics Awards, four CableACE Awards. Only *Hill Street Blues* creator Steven Bochco and David E. Kelley, the man behind *Ally*

Mybet, have had as great an impact on the types of programs viewers get to watch. But while both show producers show humanity struggling to be noble in a flawed world, the 48-year-old Fontana holds up the dramatic exposure of a bare lightbulb and exposes its squaring vice.

It is an approach that has worked well on Fontana's prison series *Oz*, which began airing in 1997. Set in the fictional maximum security Oswald State Correctional Facility, *Oz* depicts life on the inside as a multi-layered pot still unfurled with rapin, murder and child molesters and pecked by such vultures as gang rape, cannibalism, torture and murder. Shows that stage heterosexual gang rape aren't supposed to be ratings winners. Nevertheless, *Oz* is the No. 1 rated

Program: building up the dramatic exposure of a bare lightbulb—and producing subtle television

series on Showtime, drawing 200,000 viewers every Friday night, four times the cable network's average audience. "Initially, there were some reactions from our sales department," says Showtime vice-president of programming, Luan Michalchyshyn. "But the fact Tom Fontana is not afraid to deal with issues that aren't viewer-friendly has won him a loyal audience." He is also an industry darling. At June's Banff Television Festival, the world's largest TV industry gathering, Fontana was crowned the guru, with TV executives clamoring after him incessantly.

Success in television is not something Fontana necessarily had in mind. He grew up in Buffalo, N.Y., and studied theater at Buffalo State College. He began his career in New York City, juggling off Broadway as he put it, as a "wildly unsuccessful playwright." But in 1981,

But unlike their theatre counterparts, TV actors always work with a new script. "He never shows anything he learns away—an idea, a piece of paper, anything," says *Chicago Hope* creator John Dinko, who worked with Fontana on *St. Elsewhere*. "Now, he's willing to explore what he has discovered and get his psyche dirty."

Viewers got their first glimpse into his dirty psyche when *Homicide* aired in 1993 and became Fontana's breakout series. Based on *Homicide: A Year on the Killing Streets*, a 1991 book by ex-Baltimore Sun reporter David Simon, it followed a team of Baltimore detectives as they hunted killers in a city known for the Orioles, crab cakes and crack houses. Fontana partnered with film director Barry Levinson (*Rain Man*, *Diner*), who acted as co-executive producer, and wrote many episodes while overseeing an eclectic pool of writers, which included a runway for a cop show—three women.

Dramatically, Fontana used the detective murder investigations as a way of refracting the meaning of life. This crime concept produced sublime television. In one of the series' most accomplished episodes, guest star Vincent D'Onofrio gave a gripping performance as a man



Scene from *Oz*, an awfully convicted inmate here

producer Bruce Pittman offered him a writing job on his NBC drama series *St. Elsewhere*, whose ensemble cast of young doctors working at a fictional hospital included such future stars as Daniel Washington and Howie Mandel. The then-30-year-old playwright thought it would be short-term and easy money. Instead, he stayed until 1988. While writing for *St. Elsewhere*, Fontana began to see television's strength as a medium. Life stage across, the cast in a TV series play the same roles for an extended period of time

whose legs are trapped between a subway sign and a platform. The show won *Homicide* its third Peabody Award, TV's most prestigious honor. Although *Homicide* had some of television's most intensely loyal viewers, it never rose above being a cult hit and tapered on the brink of cancellation for most of its six years. NBC finally said *Homicide* lost sleep.

On picks up the narrative began by *Homicide*, and it is on *Oz* that Fontana most fully employs his ability to create fully formed dramatic universes. *Oz*

has in own himself, twisted moral code, heaven and hell. More important, there are no clichés, no wincefully convicted sinners. "These people deserve to be here," says Fontana. "I take the stereotypes and flip flipping them." The show, which has in eight-episode season, is taped in New York City on a shoestring budget. "Tom says you have everything at your disposal," says Terry Kliney, who plays the administrator Tim McManus and directed an episode this season. "Except time and money." Unlike most mainstream shows, which portray a life-white version of the United States, *Oz* is a multicultural microcosm of American society. While there are no established men strutting in meretricious odes, some of the most informed black and Hispanic series in the United States are show regulars. Many even take pay cuts to act in *Oz*'s dramatically challenging world. Feedback from viewers, who admire the show's realism, can be startling. "I've been stopped in the street by former inmates who watched *Oz* while they were inside," says Kliney. "They say they wish they had a woman like me. I met one woman in Chicago who felt that the show was keeping her sane away from a life of crime."

This spring, Fontana made a departure from the rules of crime drama. He was executive producer for *The X-Files*, a dramatic series set in the high-profile and decadent world of professional basketball. *The X-Files*, which was shot in Toronto but so far has aired only in the United States, followed the careers of the players, from a teenage rookie to an aging veteran, through a season. And now, Fontana is shooting *The Best*, a series for the American cable network UPN that follows two uniformed New York City cops as they make routine calls. *The Best* promises to continue Fontana's nuanced view of American society and back the startled shoot-on-up police format. "If you don't want to watch my shows, that's great, watch *Seinfeld* by an angel," he says. "I don't hate the answers. My hope is to raise questions. I give my audience credit. They don't want the lie." ■



Allan Fotheringham

An apostle of the black art

If I had a son who wanted to follow me into the "black art"—as Kipling called it—of journalism, I would suggest he try to find some time to spend with Matthew Fisher.

Matthew Fisher is the second-most interesting guy in Canada involved in what we in the trade call "typing and spelling." The reason he is so interesting is that he almost never is in Canada.

He spends his life making others rich. He's been to 343 countries. He's covered 14 wars and revolutions. He has a deadly wit, fuses no one and doesn't drink. He says "It's not necessary."

Father Doug Fisher, dean of the Ottawa press gallery (and the worst) is a former librarian from Thunder Bay. He was a CCF MP—defeating the famous C.D. Howe—served in a tank with Vancouver millionaire Clunkie Woodward in our last big war, rode a complex book every day of his life and he has five sons.

Three of his sons are Matthew, Mark, Luke and John—and Tobias—named after the 16th-century Scottish satirist Tobias Smollett. The biblical allusions as to the sons would indicate, correctly, the strict Presbyterian roots of the clan.

Matthew Fisher is 45. He works for *The Toronto Star*—and in other outlets, now called Sun Media Corp. and owned by Quebecor Inc., in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. He's bilingual and can easily do the Quebec scene.

He was recently in Canada, having just moved to London from his Moscow base, on his annual visit to family. One gets the impression he is uneasy at being in one spot in one time. He is the most peripatetic scribe we've ever produced.

You pick up the paper one day he's in Kosovo. Next day, he's at odious riotous Northern Ireland. If there's a hot spot in the world, Matthew Fisher will be there. He's one of a kind.

The answer to all this is that maintaining foreign correspondents abroad is enormously expensive. There's the wife, the kids who usually have to be put into private school. It's estimated that *The Toronto Star*, or *The Globe and Mail* or the CBC, have to pony up—leaving salary aside—some \$250,000 a year to maintain a bureau in Moscow or Beijing or Cape Town or wherever.

It's a well-known scam in the trade that foreign correspondents bank their salary, and live on their expense accounts. The greatest fear of any foreign correspondent—and I know many of them—is to be shipped back to the Mother Ship in

Toronto—there to be faced with a gossamer editor who assigns you to coverage of a federal-provincial conference. His was never like this.

The reason Fisher is so interesting is that he bypasses all this ordinary nonsense of those of us who have to worry about mortgages. He is single, of course, no scribbled lady putting up with a chap who abuses *The Guinness Book of Records* made for frequent-flyer points.

He often works 80 days straight without a day off. He files his columns three days a week and—when there is a war or revolution going on—files news reports every day. He is the most prolific typist since Dickens had to support all those children.

As a kid, in what was then called Port Arthur, he was into hockey—"I was a right winger, just like my politics." He attended York University in Toronto in fine arts and wanted to be a scenic artist.

As a manager, he met a country-rack band led by Michael Bane, now editor of the notorious *Punch* (but that was because of getting all the musicians and gossip the magazine press is afraid of). For Sports Canada, he travelled Europe for eight years with the *Goat* Canada on the ski slopes of Europe—Ken Read and Steve Poitras and the rest—and produced a book: *White Cross*.

His second book, demonstrating his range, was *A Matter of Principle*, a study of cars run Don Cousens whose Edmonton-based Principal Group Ltd. empire collapsed in 1987. He worked for a CBC show with Elizabeth Gray and she is also the most intelligent and neglected journalist in the land.

He estimates there are 15 journalists in the world who do what he does—leap about a jet at the instance of gunfire breaking out somewhere. Christine Arampour of CNN was among them. The last time I wrote about him was at our first meeting, at the British Consulate in Hong Kong where, naturally, he was there briefing the scene.

His most memorable occasion? The crash of statement in watching more than two million innocents trying to rush to the back of Indian Gandhi. The freeing of Nelson Mandela in South Africa. And watching one of thousands chopped to death in Rwanda while he, because of his white skin, was safe.

I don't know their current relationship, but I think his father—who named four of his sons after Christ's disciples—would be proud of him.



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